

**UNIVERSIDAD COMPLUTENSE DE MADRID**  
**FACULTAD DE FILOLOGÍA**



**TESIS DOCTORAL**

**The role of metaphor as the backbone of the last five  
conservative manifestos and the conceptualisation of their  
policies in political cartoons in the British conservative  
press**

MEMORIA PARA OPTAR AL GRADO DE DOCTOR

PRESENTADA POR

**Luis Francisco López López**

DIRECTORES

**Isabel Negro Alousque**  
**Honesto Herrera Soler**

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**EL PAPEL DE LA METÁFORA COMO EJE VERTEBRADOR  
DE LOS CINCO ÚLTIMOS PROGRAMAS ELECTORALES DEL  
PARTIDO CONSERVADOR BRITÁNICO Y LA  
CONCEPTUALIZACIÓN DE SUS POLÍTICAS EN LAS  
ILUSTRACIONES EDITORIALES DE LA PRENSA  
CONSERVADORA BRITÁNICA**

**Tesis doctoral**

Autor: Luis Francisco López López

Directora: Dra. Isabel Negro Alousque

Tutor: Dr. Honesto Herrera Soler

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OF THE LAST FIVE CONSERVATIVE MANIFESTOS  
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IN POLITICAL CARTOONS IN THE BRITISH  
CONSERVATIVE PRESS**



**Doctoral Thesis**

Author: Luis Francisco López López

Supervisor: Dr. Isabel Negro Alousque

Advisor: Dr. Honesto Herrera Soler

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## **Style and format:**

The following conventions in contemporary metaphor research have been adopted:

- Source domains and image-schemas are expressed in CAPITAL letters.
- Metaphors and metonymies are phrased in SMALL CAPS.
- ‘ ’ are used to refer to a lexical unit in a specific form.
- “ ” are used to literally reproduce parts of text.
- *Italics* are used to emphasise metaphor instantiations.

## ABSTRACT

In the last decades there has been a growing interest in multimodality applied to specific discourses within Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). The present dissertation analyses metaphorical conceptualisation used by the British Conservative Party and the editorial cartoons in the British conservative press for the general elections in 1997, 2001, 2005, 2010, 2015. This is done in an integrative approach which combines cognitive approaches, Critical Discourse Analysis (Charteris-Black's (2014) Critical Metaphor Analysis and Musolff's (2016) scenario-based approach) and corpus techniques. For this dissertation, two corpora were collected: (1) the manifesto corpus of 136,817 words, made up of the last five general elections; and (2) a cartoon corpus made 246 editorial cartoons published in *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Times* in the election years. Each corpus was divided into four sections according to the general election, except for the fact that the 2001 and 2005 general election belong to the same section. This study focuses on four main areas: (1) leadership; (2) economic issues; (3) British national interest; and (4) domestic issues. For the analysis of the manifesto corpus, different tools included in Antconc 4.3.3. (Anthony, 2014) were used. The analysis offers quantitative and qualitative data which reveals that metaphorical conceptualisation is an essential tool in the ideological evolution of the Conservative Party, which, under Cameron, produced a change of conceptualisation strategy on certain issues covered by the study, such as the the economy and society. However, the alleged ideological evolution is not reflected in the relationship between the UK and the EU. The results obtained in each section are contrasted to the conceptualisation made by *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph* about the same issues, in search for synchronic patterns of similarity and differences in the source domains used to portray the same issues. This dissertation intends to serve as a starting point of multi-national contrastive studies to improve political communication and the knowledge about national and social identities.

*Keywords: CMT, corpus, multimodality, political discourse, Conservative Party.*





## RESUMEN

En las últimas décadas ha habido un creciente interés en estudios de multimodalidad aplicados a discursos específicos en el marco de la Teoría de la Metáfora Conceptual (Lakoff y Johnson 1980). La presente tesis analiza la conceptualización metafórica del Partido Conservador británico y las ilustraciones editoriales de la prensa conservadora inglesa en las elecciones generales de 1997, 2001, 2005, 2010 y 2015. Esto se hace mediante un enfoque integrador que combina aproximaciones que combinan enfoques cognitivos y de Análisis Crítico del Discurso (Análisis Crítico de la Metáfora de Charteris-Black, 2014 y el enfoque basado en escenarios de Musolff, 2016) junto con técnicas de corpus. En esta tesis se han creado dos corpus: (1) un corpus de programas electorales hecho con los programas electorales de las últimas cinco elecciones generales, y (2) un corpus con 246 ilustraciones editoriales del *The Daily Telegraph* y *The Times* en los años de las elecciones. Cada corpus está dividido en 4 secciones, correspondientes a cada uno de los años en los que las elecciones tuvieron lugar con la salvedad de que las secciones de los años 2001 y 2005 se analizan conjuntamente. La investigación está centrada en 4 grandes áreas: (1) liderazgo; (2) economía; (3) interés nacional británico, y (4) política interior. El corpus de programas electorales ha sido analizado utilizando distintas herramientas del paquete de Antconc 4.3.3. (Anthony, 2014). El análisis ofrece datos cuantitativos y cualitativos que demuestran que la conceptualización metafórica es una herramienta esencial en la evolución del Partido Conservador británico que, bajo el liderazgo de Cameron, realizó un cambio en la estrategia de conceptualización en las áreas estudiadas, como la economía o la sociedad. Sin embargo, esta evolución no se refleja en otros aspectos como la conceptualización de la relación del Reino Unido con la UE. Los resultados obtenidos en cada sección se contrastan con la conceptualización realizada por *The Daily Telegraph* y *The Times*, de manera que se ofrecen patrones de similitudes y diferencias en la conceptualización realizada sobre los mismos asuntos. Esta tesis pretende ser un punto de partida para la profundización de estudios contrastivos sobre comunicación política y la creación de identidades nacionales.

Palabras Clave: *Metáfora Conceptual, corpus, multimodalidad, discurso político, Partido Conservador británico.*



## 0.INTRODUCTION

On 13 July 2016, David Cameron gave his last speech as Prime Minister. He resigned under the pressure of part of his own party after losing the so-called Brexit referendum, held on 23 June 2016, in fulfilment of one of his electoral promises for the 2015 general election. Cameron referred to his experience as Prime Minister in the following terms:

When I first stood here in Downing Street on that evening in May 2010, I said we would confront our problems as a country and lead people through difficult decisions, so that together we could reach better times. It has not been an easy journey, and of course we have not got every decision right, but I do believe that today our country is much stronger. Above all it was about turning around the economy. And with the deficit cut by two-thirds, two and a half million more people in work and one million more businesses, there can be no doubt that our economy is immeasurably stronger<sup>1</sup>.

In this passage, Cameron mentions his political achievements, particularly in the economic field. What is most interesting is the way he conveys his message. Thus, his six years in office are conceptualised as a journey, politics is metaphorically viewed in terms of conflict (“confront our problems”), and the economy and the country are equated with an organism, since they are “stronger”.

Such metaphorical configuration of politics also underlies the Conservative manifestos issued between 1997 and 2015, in which both domestic and foreign issues are shaped on the basis of metaphors from a range of domains, including WAR, GAMES AND SPORT, BUILDINGS, and HEALTH AND ILLNESS. This leads us to consider whether the ideological evolution of the Conservative Party from neoliberal Conservatism under Margaret Thatcher to progressive Conservatism under David Cameron after losing the 1997, 2001 and 2005 general elections involved a shift in the metaphorical representation of politics. As Charteris Black (2004: 65) remarks, “if

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<sup>1</sup> The complete transcript for the speech can be consulted at <https://blogs.spectator.co.uk/2016/07/david-camerons-final-speech-downing-street/>

ideology influences metaphor use, we would expect political parties to use metaphor differently and for metaphor use to change over time according to shifts in outlooks and beliefs”.

In addition, political metaphor is not only expressed through language, but also through the visual mode, as illustrated by Adam’s cartoon on the Brexit issue published in *The Daily Telegraph* the day after Cameron’s resignation. Adams interpreted the United Kingdom’s (hence UK) withdrawal from the European Union as a *Snakes and ladders* game in which the main European politicians were playing a game with the intention of arriving at Brexit. The game features – visually cued through the board – are mapped onto the issue of Brexit, which is hinted by the image of the European politicians and verbally rendered through the word “BREXIT” on the last of the game board. This instantiates the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A GAME. Outside the board, there are dice, which are typical representations of ‘luck’. This pictorial detail, together with the fact that *Snakes and Ladders* is one of the simplest board games, yields the interpretation that Brexit was unplanned and happened out of luck. Adams thus criticises management of the issue on the Conservative Party’s part.

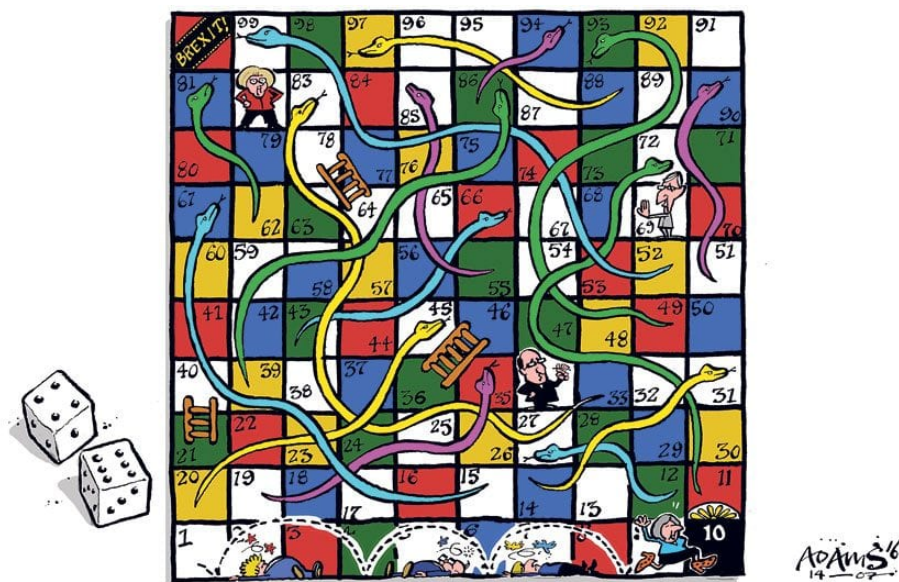


Figure 1. Adams’s cartoon about Brexit. *The Daily Telegraph*, 14 July 2016<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/opinion/2016/06/30/telegraph-cartoons-july-2016/adams-cartoon-july-14/>

In line with this, the present dissertation provides a corpus-based analysis of metaphor use in two forms of political discourse, namely manifestos and cartoons. Starting from the assumption that metaphor is pervasive in political discourse, and following an approach that draws on Cognitive Metaphor Theory and Critical Discourse Analysis, we seek to contribute to the analysis of metaphor in politics. Indeed, in the last decades much scholarly attention has been paid to the use of metaphor in various genres, including political discourse (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2005, 2014; Chilton, 1996, 2004; Lakoff, 1996, 2004) and political cartooning (El Refaie, 2003, 2009; Negro, 2013, 2014).

More specifically, our research intends to provide an answer to the following questions:

1. What are the similarities and differences in metaphorical representation between the manifestos issued by the Conservative Party?
2. What are the similarities and differences in the metaphorical configuration of particular issues between the Conservative manifestos?
3. What are the similarities and differences between the manifesto corpus and the cartoon corpus in terms of metaphorical conceptualisation?
4. How can we account for metaphor selection in the Conservative Party's manifestos and political cartoons?

In order to answer these questions, we compiled two corpora. The first corpus, the manifesto corpus, is composed by the Conservative Party manifestos launched for the general elections between 1997 and 2015. The second corpus, the cartoon corpus, consists of 246 editorial cartoons published in *The Times*, *The Daily Telegraph* and sister publications dealing with the same issues as those discussed in the manifestos. The sections of both corpora were named after the years in which the general election took place, so that each corpus is divided into four sections: (a) the 1997 section; (b) the

2001-2005 section; (c) the 2010 section; and (d) the 2015 section. The 2001 and 2005 manifestos are in the same section for two reasons. Being short, they had to be analysed together to ensure a balance between the manifestos in the four sections in terms of corpus size. Second, both manifestos deal with the same issues.

The main issues dealt with in both corpora are (1) leadership; (2) economic issues; (3) British National Interest (foreign affairs and the European Union); and (4) domestic issues. Leadership is a relevant issue inasmuch as the Conservative Party was involved in a leadership contest between the 1997 and 2005 general elections.

The present paper is organised as follows. Section 1 provides the theoretical framework of our research. Section 2 describes the method used to compile the corpora, to identify and interpret the metaphors underlying the corpora and to account for metaphor use and the possible effects on voters. Section 3 presents the research findings. Finally, section 4 summarises the main insights gained from the research and suggests further developments.

# 1. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND SECTION

This section reviews the main theoretical and practical breakthroughs which led to the development of the methods chosen for the current analysis. It also provides a thorough account of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, paying special attention to the identification of metaphor in discourse, Critical Metaphor Analysis and its contribution to the study of political discourse. We also provide an account on multimodal metaphor analysis in political discourse.

## 1.1.POLITICAL DISCOURSE

Although modern political studies are not concerned with the linguistic aspects of political action, political discourse has been studied since the times of ancient Greece. Following Wilson (2001: 398), political discourse is concerned with formal or informal political contexts and political actors, such as politicians, political institutions, media belonging to political groups and governments, with the aim of achieving a political goal.

According to Musolff (2016: 136), “political discourse [...] is characterized by competitive debate and dispute because its participants aim to gain a power advantage over each other, though offering their audiences new nuances of meaning and interpretations, which promise to lead to new initiatives in the political process. Its dominant functional type is not poetic but polemical and interaction always: influencing others’ beliefs and attitudes and suggesting courses of action”. Thus, Musolff understands political metaphor as a “means to change meanings, and hence, to change social and political attitudes”.

Since the beginning of the 1990s there has been extensive research into socio-political discourse. Political communication has been studied as a discourse type (cf. Chilton & Schäffner, 2002) with a rhetorical function (e.g. Feldman & De Landtsheer, 1998; De Landtsheer & Feldman, 2000) and an ideological function (e.g. Wodak, 1989;

van Dijk, 2006). For example, Fairclough (2000) analyses New Labour's way of conveying its message to the public.

There are different forms of political discourse: speeches, party manifestos, committee hearings, news media interviews, articles and cartoons, and television news.

### **1.1.1. Party manifestos**

A manifesto is, according to the *New Oxford Dictionary of English* (2001: 1125), “a public declaration of policy and aims, especially one issued before an election by a political party or candidate”.

Political manifestos do not only set the main policy lines which are supposed to be followed by the future government if it reaches political power. They also serve as a sort of social contract whose terms constitute the main criteria for accountability from voters and political opposition in the daily political life of the country.

In her analysis of variation in the discourse of the three main political parties in the UK 2010 general election, Breeze (2011), confirms that parties' discourses are conditioned by their position in their political scenario. Therefore, it seems that political parties tend to avoid engaging in ideological battles, adapting to electoral market forces which depend on the political context.



### **1.1.2. Political cartooning**

A political cartoon is defined in the Encyclopaedia Britannica<sup>3</sup> as “a drawing (often including caricature) made for the purpose of conveying editorial commentary on politics, politicians, and current events. Political cartoons play a role in the political discourse of a society that provides for freedom of speech and of the press. They are a primarily opinion-oriented medium and can generally be found on the editorial pages of newspapers and other journalistic outlets, whether in print or electronic form. Their subject matter is usually that of current and newsworthy political issues, and, in order for them to be understood, they require that readers possess some basic background knowledge”.

Garland, one of the cartoonists analysed in this study, claims that a political cartoon “requires some or all of a mixture of caricature, metaphor, distortion, surrealism, deliberate misunderstanding and mockery” (1991: 2).

El Refaie (2009: 175) suggests the following definition of a cartoon:

A cartoon is an illustration, usually in a single panel, published in the editorial or comments pages of a newspaper. Generally, the purpose of a political cartoon is to represent an aspect of social, cultural or political life in a way that condenses reality and transforms it in a striking, original and/or humorous way.

Following Negro (2014: 66), the defining features of political cartoons may be summarized as follows:

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<sup>3</sup> <https://global.britannica.com/topic/political-cartoon>

1. They have a descriptive function inasmuch as they are characterised by allusion to a socio-political situation, event or person.
2. Since they are related to recent events, factual knowledge is essential for their correct interpretation.
3. Recent events are combined with an imaginary world in such a way that “cartoons act as a bridge between fact and fiction” (Edwards 1997: 8). The metaphorical process of transferring meaning from the imaginary to the real world is conveyed predominantly in the visual mode (El Refaie 2009: 174).
4. Cartoons have a satirical nature. They are characterised by caricature, which parodies the individual.
5. The last feature stems from the previous one: Cartoons exemplify critical perspectives on recent events.
6. Metaphor is a recurrent device used in political cartooning (Edwards 1997; Philippe 1982; Morrison 1992; Templin 1999). As Shilperoord and Maes (2009: 214–215) remark, “editorial cartoons are a metaphor-rich communicative area”. In this light, these authors highlight the scenario character of newspaper cartoon metaphors, the most frequent scenarios being the hospital-scenario, the cooking-scenario, marriage, funerals and (boxing) games.

It is convenient to note that the text appearing in some cartoons helps to cue and identify a visual metaphor in cartoons. Image-text interaction has been discussed by a number of scholars. Barthes (1977), for example, assigns a prevalent role to the written text over the image, since it fixes visual meaning. The relationship may be established according to two possible functions: the text may extend the meaning of the image or viceversa (*relay*), or it may elaborate on the image (*elaboration*). In this sense, he also distinguishes between two types of *elaboration*; a) when the image illustrates the text; and b), when the text is a restatement of the image in a more definite and precise way. This function is known as *anchorage* of all the possible denoted meanings of the object. It may fulfil an ideological function and “indeed this is its principal function; the text *directs* the reader through the signifiers of the image, causing him to avoid some and receive others; by means of an often subtle *dispatching*, it remote-controls him towards

a meaning chosen in advance” (ibid.: 40). Other authors such as Kress and van Leeuwen (2001), claim that there is not such image-text interaction.

There seems to be agreement amongst scholars over the need for contextual knowledge to correctly interpret cartoons. El Refaie (2003) claims that ‘discursive context’ (to be understood as the written text appearing on the cartoon’s same newspaper page) is necessary to understand cartoons. Saraceni (2003) also emphasises the need for knowledge of the world, ‘textual context’ and ‘extra-textual context’, to interpret cartoons.

## 1.2. COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS

In the last 30 years, cognitive science has experienced a development that led to the emergence of Cognitive Linguistics (hereafter CL). CL is not a linguistic theory, but, in Evans' and Green's words (2006: 3), it is rather "an approach" to language that, under the adoption of "common principles, assumptions and perspectives", has nurtured different specific theories. Evans and Green (ibid.: 5) explain the work of cognitive linguists:

Cognitive linguists like other linguists, study language for its own sake; they attempt to describe and account for its systematicity, its structure, the functions it serves and how these functions are realised by the language system. However, an important reason behind why cognitive linguists study language stems from the assumption that language reflects patterns of thought. Therefore, to study language from this perspective is to study patterns of conceptualisation.

Cognitive semanticists put forward the thesis of embodied cognition, whereby conceptual structure derives from embodiment. The embodiment of experience provides us with the basis upon which the meaning associated to linguistic elements is organised and structured (Johnson 1987; Lakoff 1987; Lakoff & Johnson 1999). In this sense, Talmy (2000) claims that language encodes conceptual representation by creating structural meaning. As Taylor (1995: 87) claims, "word meanings are cognitive structures, embedded patterns of knowledge and belief; the context against which meanings are characterised extends beyond language system as such".

Lakoff (1987: 68) posits that structural meaning is organized in the form of idealized cognitive models (thereafter ICMs) and that "category structures and prototype effects are by-products of that organization". Drawing on Fillmore's (1975, 1982) frame semantics, Lakoff and Johnson's CMT (1980), Langacker's cognitive grammar (Langacker 1986) and Fauconnier's theory of mental spaces (Fauconnier 1985), Lakoff describes ICMs as complex structured gestalts whose nature can be *propositional*, *image schematic*, *metaphorical* and *metonymic*. These four principles

underlying conceptual structure, namely propositional structure, image schemas, metaphor and metonymy, are discussed below.

Similarly, Fillmore's *frames* (1982) provide structure to the human conceptual system. Semantic frames are knowledge structures which are detailed and emerge from our everyday experiences. Words are understood against frames they are associated with.

Lakoff (2004: xv) provides the following definition of frames:

[...] the mental structures that allow human beings to understand reality—and sometimes to create what we take to be reality. [T]hey structure our ideas and concepts, they shape how we reason, and they even impact how we perceive and how we act. For the most part, our use of frames is unconscious and automatic—we use them without realizing it.

Following Lakoff (2004: xv), “all words are defined relative to conceptual frames. When you hear a word, its frame (or collection of frames) is activated in your brain”.

Evans and Green (2006: 187) define frames as detailed knowledge structures or schemas emerging from everyday experiences. In their view, knowledge of word meaning is, in part, knowledge of the individual frames with which a word is associated. A theory of frame semantics therefore reveals the rich network of meaning that makes up our knowledge of world.

### **1.2.1. Propositional ICMs**

The idea of the propositional structure of ICMs is drawn from Fillmore's (1982) frame semantics. Propositional ICMs serve as the basis for metaphoric and metonymic models (Ruiz de Mendoza and Pascual Aransáez, 1997).

Propositional ICMs may be classified according to complexity. The simplest results from the interaction of a schema with other schemas in the system, as exemplified by *bachelor* (Fillmore 1982). Cluster models are another type of propositional ICMs. Lakoff's (1987: 74ff.) *mother* is a clear example. Lakoff argues that *mother* is a combination of cognitive models forming a cluster which is more basic than the sum of the models individually taken. Thus, the concept *mother* subsumes the 'birth' model, the 'genetic' model, the 'marital' model, etc... so that the cluster of the converging cognitive models results in a central subcategory, the ideal model, which at the same time makes room for certain non-central extensions (*stepmother*). According to Lakoff (1987), this means that the concept of mother is organised as a radial structure, with a central category and peripheral extensions.

This notion of centrality and periphery also underlies the *conceptual schemas* put forward by Ruiz de Mendoza (1996: 343), in terms of. A conceptual schema is defined as "a knowledge construct which consists of a set of general defining conditions (or definers) which are variously instantiated from individual to individual and from occasion to occasion depending on the contingencies of its use". The resulting set of propositions, or instantiations of the conceptual schema, are arranged according to their degree of centrality. Conceptual schemas are basic-level categories, since superordinate and subordinate concepts are usually understood in contrast with a basic-level term.

Other cognitive schemas such as scenarios are structured by the source-path-goal schema, but in the time domain, where the initial state is the source, the final state is the destination, and the other events act as locations on the path. These scenarios provide a contextual background against which to experience the people and objects within them.

### 1.2.2. Image-schemas

The second pattern of structure in ICMs resulting in prototypical effects is image schemas. Johnson (1987) defines image-schemas as preconceptual abstract knowledge structures based on experience patterns. Ruiz de Mendoza and Otal (2002: 15) define ICMs as “conventionalized mental representations of reality as perceived and interpreted by our senses or as determined by culture”. Peña (2008: 1042) regards ICMs as “recurring patterns of experience which are abstract and topological in nature”.

The first attempt to create an inventory of image-schemas was made by Johnson (1987: 126). He proposed the following taxonomy:

CONTAINER	BALANCE	COMPULSION
BLOCKAGE	COUNTERFORCE	RESTRAINT-REMOVAL
ENABLEMENT	ATTRACTION	MASS-COUNT
PATH	LINK	CENTER-PERIPHERY
CYCLE	NEAR-FAR	SCALE
PART-WHOLE	MERGING	SPLITTING
FULL-EMPTY	MATCHING	SUPERIMPOSITION
ITERATION	CONTACT	PROCESS
SURFACE	OBJECT	COLLECTION

Figure 2. Johnson’s (1987) taxonomy of image-schemas.

In her study of metaphorical expressions within the domain of emotions, Peña (2003: 212–220) distinguished three types of subsidiarity among image-schemas. She claimed that schemas can be related by conceptual dependency, by logical entailment and by enrichment. Conceptual dependency is used for schemas which depend on other schemas to develop their structure and internal logic. For example, ATTRACTION and REPULSION depend on COMPULSION. Schemas are related by logical entailment when an image schema uses part of the internal logic of the immediately preceding category. Thus, FULL-EMPTY and EXCESS are entailments of CONTAINER. Finally,

subsidiarity by schematic enrichment takes place between members of the same or a different category as in *He went into trouble after his father died*, where CONTAINER introduced by the preposition *into* is subsidiary to PATH.

Peña (2008: 1064) claims that the image schemas BOUNDED REGION (encompassing CONTAINER and SURFACE), PATH and PART-WHOLE are the most basic ones and serve as “blueprint for the construction of other subsidiary experiential patterns”, thus lending their internal structure to other constructs. The LINK image-schema is not associated with any other patterns. The interdependency of image schemas (Peña, 2008) is shown in figure 3:



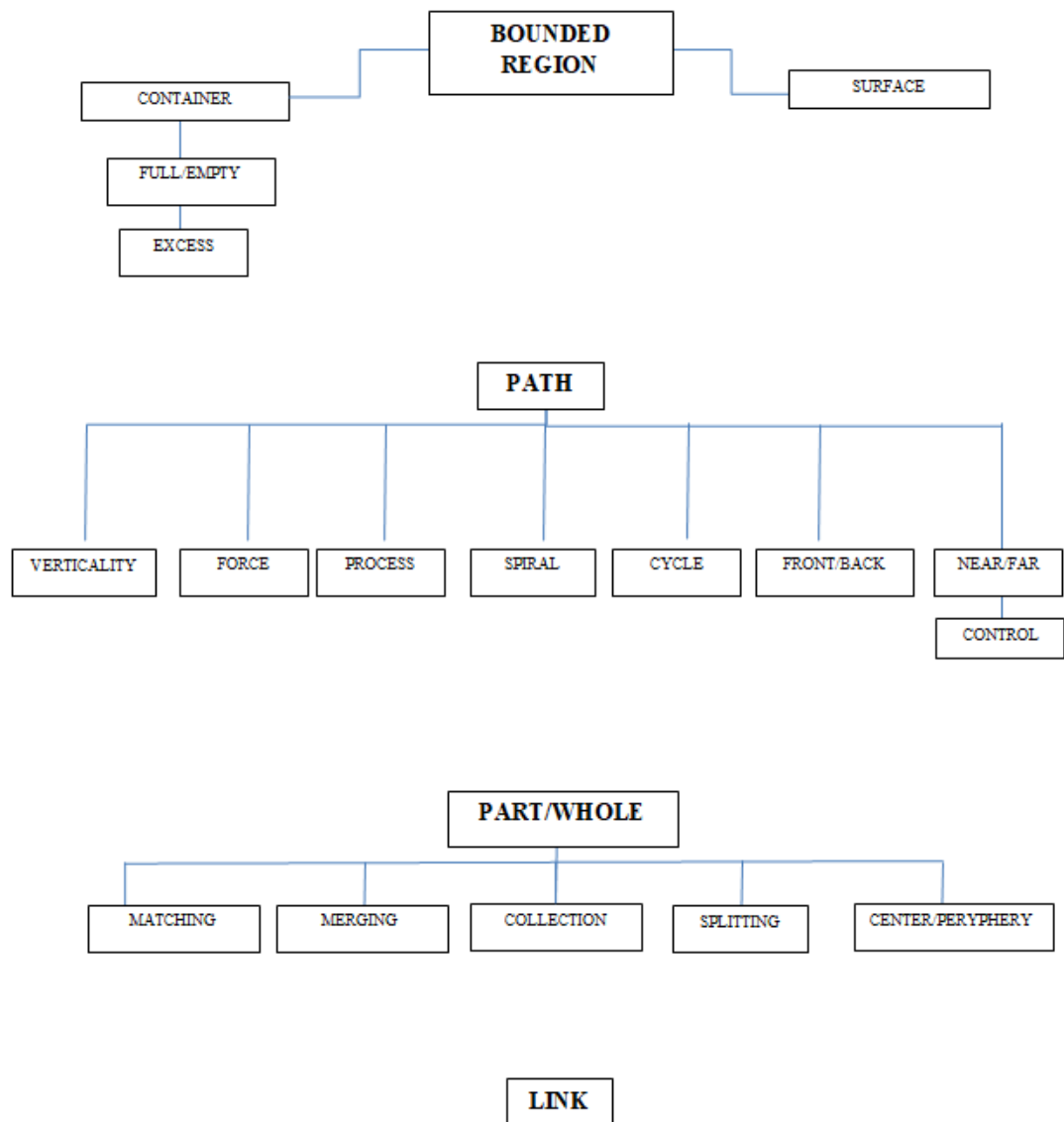


Figure 3. Taxonomy of image schemas (Peña, 2008).

The role of image schemas in conceptual interaction has been explored by Díez Velasco (2002), who postulated that image schemas are not only valuable in determining the relationship between the source and target domains of metonymic mappings, but also in providing axiological value as an auxiliary tool when the interplay between metaphor and metonymy is not sufficient to successfully interpret the metonymic mapping.

### 1.2.3. Metaphor

In *Metaphors We Live by* (1980) Lakoff and Johnson put forward a model for the study of metaphor that has prevailed in the last 30 years, namely the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (hence CMT) (e.g. Lakoff 1987, 2006; Lakoff & Turner 1989; Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Gibbs 1994; Gibbs, Bogdanovich et al., 1997; Kövecses 1990, 2000, 2002, 2005; Dirven & Ruiz de Mendoza 2010; cf. Gibbs 2011, and Ruiz de Mendoza & Pérez 2011 for assessment on the later versions).

Lakoff's theory of metaphor is based upon the following assumptions:

- Metaphor pervades thought and language. As Gibbs (1989: 121) remarks, "[...] many facets of everyday thought and language are indeed metaphorical".
- Metaphor is conceptual, not linguistic, in nature. As Gibbs (2008: 3) points out, "metaphor is not simply an ornamental aspect of language, but a fundamental scheme by which people conceptualize the world and their own action".
- Metaphor involves understanding a domain of experience (the target domain) in terms of a more concrete domain (the source domain). As Lakoff remarks, "metaphor is a way of understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (1980: 5). The source domain is the domain supporting the literal meaning of the expression, whereas the target domain is the domain the expression is actually about (Croft & Cruse 2004: 195).
- Much of our conceptual system is metaphorical.

Barcelona (2002: 211), citing Langacker (1987) defines metaphor as “the cognitive mechanism whereby one experiential domain (...) is partially mapped onto a different experiential domain, the second domain being partially understood in term of the first one”.

Under these tenets, we can then define metaphor as “an ontological mapping across conceptual domains” (Lakoff 2006: 192). A mapping is a fixed set of conceptual correspondences between a source domain and a target domain. Lakoff (2006) describes the relationship between both domains as a *function* where specific features of the source are mapped onto (transferred to) the target domain. For instance, abstract concepts such as time are often conceptualised in terms of money, as in “You are wasting my time” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 7), thus yielding the metaphor TIME IS MONEY. The mapping is (1) asymmetric (i.e. the conceptual structure is projected in the target domain rather than in the source domain); (2) partial, i.e. only some features of the source domain are transferred onto the target domain; and (3) unidirectional, so that, following Lakoff and Johnson (1980), LOVE is usually understood in terms of JOURNEY, but the opposite never happens.

Kövecses (2010) argued that the most common source domains are those related to the domains of HUMAN BODY, ANIMALS, PLANTS, FOOD and FORCES<sup>4</sup>.

Lakoff and Turner (1989) postulated constraints on source domain selection. This was referred to by Lakoff (1993: 215) as the *Invariance Principle*:

Metaphorical mappings preserve the cognitive topology (that is, the image schema structure) of the source domain, in a way consistent with the inherent structure of the target domain.

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<sup>4</sup> For a comprehensive list of the most common source and target domains, visit <http://cogsci.berkeley.edu/lakoff/metaphors>.

Metaphorical language is the surface manifestation of conceptual metaphors. The term ‘metaphorical expression’ refers to a linguistic expression (a word, phrase, or sentence) that is the surface realization of a cross-domain mapping (Lakoff 2006: 186).

Metaphor is conventional and part of the ordinary system of language and thought. This view is supported by Kövecses (2006: 201), who highlights the conventionalisation of the system of mappings.

CMT first classified metaphors into three types:

- Orientational metaphors structure abstract concepts in terms of spatial concepts, e.g. up-down, in-out, central-peripheral. For example, the metaphor HAPPY IS UP is instantiated in “I’m feeling up” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 15).
- Ontological metaphors shape concepts and experiences in terms of objects and substances (ibid: 25–32). For instance, the metaphor INFLATION IS AN ENTITY as instantiated in “Inflation is lowering our living standards” (ibid: 26).
- Event-structure metaphors structured a concept in terms of another concept, e.g. the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR in “Your claims are indefensible”. This type of metaphor requires the transfer of properties from a source domain onto the target domain. According to Lakoff (1993), they normally entail the existence of complex systems of metaphors interrelated.

However, in a later edition (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003: 264) this classification is rejected by the authors:

The division of metaphors into three types – orientational, ontological, and structural, was artificial. All metaphors are structural (in that they map structures to structures); all are ontological (in that they create target domain entities); and many of them are orientational (in that they map orientational image-schemas).

CMT has been developed in subsequent research and has provided the basis for theories such as Grady’s (1997) *Primary Metaphor Theory*. An influential classification is the one provided by Ruiz de Mendoza and Otal (2002: 48) according to the nature of the source domain, as shown in figure 4.

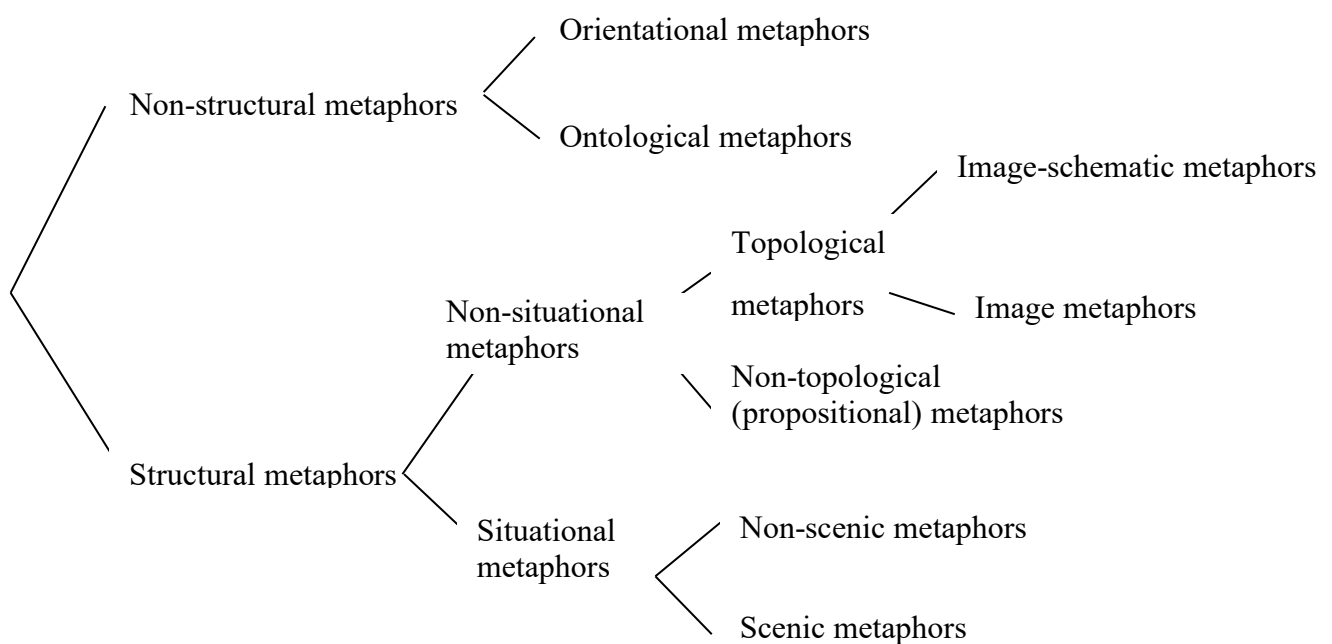


Figure 4. Ruiz de Mendoza and Otal’s metaphor classification (2002: 48).

Metaphor interpretation has been subject of debate in the literature. Semino (2008: 14) notices that “metaphoricity is a matter of degree, and the boundary between metaphorical and non-metaphorical is fuzzy”.

According to Haught (2013), there are three models to account for metaphor comprehension. In the first model metaphors are understood as “implicit similes” (ibid: 254) though a process of matching those properties which the author intends to map onto the target. In the comparison model, literal categories of metaphor target and topic play a key role in the way the metaphor is interpreted. A base knowledge of sets of

metaphorical correspondences between abstract and concrete domains is needed for metaphor interpretation. McGlone (1996), Glucksberg (2001) postulate the categorisation model, which claims that whilst similes are understood through comparison, metaphors are categorisation statements which are understood via dual-reference – the process through which as a metaphor becomes conventionalised, its source or vehicle becomes polysemous (see figure 5). According to Haught (2014), sometimes metaphors and similes convey incompatible meanings. *Aptness* is the determining factor of processing mechanisms. Metaphors are always understood via categorisation, whereas inapt metaphors and similes are understood as comparisons. Aptness, thus, becomes a prerequisite of conventionalisation. The third model (Bowdle and Gentner, 2005; Gentner and Bowdle, 2001) postulates that the interpretation mechanism for metaphors depends on the conventionalisation process of a metaphor: whilst novel metaphors are understood via comparison, they can also be processed through categorisation as they conventionalise.

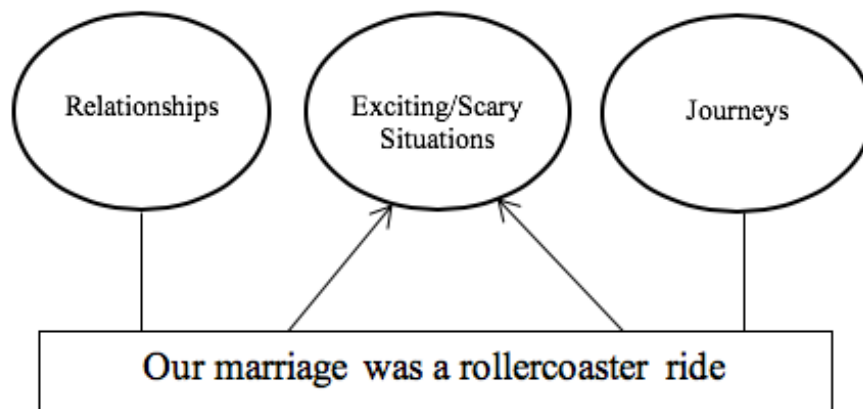


Figure 5. Attributive categorisation view (McGlone, 1996: 548).

Gibbs and Santa Cruz (2012) propose an interpretation model based on the dynamical systems theory (Gibbs and Cameron, 2007), which sees conceptual metaphor as “an emergent phenomenon that arises from the interaction of numerous constraints operating at different timescales, ranging from slow moving evolutionary forces to fast moving cognitive and neural processes” (Gibbs, 2011).

Kövecses (2006) points out that the interpretation of metaphors may vary according to culture.

The decade of the 1990s witnessed a growing interest in the use of metaphor and their function in actual language with a view to testing CMT assumptions. For example, the research on frames, scripts and schemas within the CL paradigm led to the development of Cognitive Narratology.

Within the Pragglejaz Group, Steen et al. (2007) developed a method to identify metaphorical meaning in discourse, which is built upon the contrast between the meaning of a lexical unit in context and its basic meanings (Steen et al., 2010). MIP is concerned with linguistic analysis of lemmas, so that the decision of whether a lexical unit is metaphorical or not is made on the basis of semantic analysis, following the criteria defined by the Pragglejaz Group (2007). Once the linguistic decision on whether the lexical unit is metaphorical or not is made, searches for cross-domain mappings which may reveal the underlying conceptual structure can be carried out.

As Steen (2009: 36–37) remarks:

[...] regular, ‘lexical’ metaphor is characterized by indirect language use which needs to be incorporated into the overall discourse by a cross-domain mapping at the level of projected referents in the situation model. Other forms of metaphor such a simile are typically characterized by direct language use, which sets up an opposition between two conceptual domains within the referential situation model which needs to be resolved in terms of the rhetorical purposes of the sender in the context model. Both of these types of metaphor require the construction and resolution of a cross-domain mapping in the discourse in order to preserve its overall coherence.

Steen (2008, 2011) developed a tridimensional model of metaphor as a linguistic, thinking and communicative device. He coined the term “deliberate metaphor” (see Gibbs, 2011 and Charteris-Black, 2012) to account for purposeful metaphor use. According to his model, we can distinguish lexical metaphors, similes and grammatical metaphors. Lexical metaphors are “a form of referential indirectness or incongruity”,

whilst simile and other forms of “overt metaphorical comparison” are forms of “topical and rhetorical indirectness and incongruity” (2009: 34). He acknowledges that both referential indirectness and topical indirectness result in cross-domain mapping, which needs to be construed by the analyst in order to make discourse coherent. Grammatical metaphoricity lies in the contrast between possible alternative expressions.

Within the CMT framework, several approaches such as Cultural Linguistics and corpus techniques (Charteris-Black, 2004; Deignan, 2005; Caballero, 2006; Ureña and Faber, 2011) have been developed. Departing from Kövecses (2005) modifications of classical CMT, the notion of cultural metaphor emphasises “culturally constructed conceptualizations” (Sharifian 2014: 476–478).

The relevance of corpus techniques for metaphor studies was acknowledged by Deignan (2005) and Kövecses (2010). Kövecses (2010: 27) claims:

Corpus linguistics has emerged as a remarkable new tool in the study of metaphor that, as far as I can tell, mostly confirms but also often challenges and requires as to modify the findings of conceptual metaphor theory. Unfortunately, the particular issue of which domain constitutes the most common sources and targets has not, to the best of my knowledge, been investigated by corpus linguistics means, although remarkable advances have been made in the study of numerous related issues.

We have so far been concerned with linguistic metaphor. Nonetheless, metaphor is not only expressed verbally, but also through other modes (Cienki and Müller, 2008; Forceville and Urios-Aparisi, 2009). This involves a distinction between monomodal and multimodal metaphors. Monomodal metaphors are those whose target and source are rendered in one mode. On the contrary, “multimodal metaphors are metaphors whose target and source are each represented exclusively or predominantly in different modes”. In Koller’s (2009: 46) terms, a multimodal metaphor is “(...) constituted by a mapping, or blending, of domains from different modes”.



Forceville (2009: 21) postulates the following modes in the investigation of multimodal metaphor:

- (1) pictorial signs;
- (2) written signs;
- (3) spoken signs;
- (4) gestures;
- (5) sounds;
- (6) music;
- (7) smells;
- (8) tastes;
- (9) touch.

Although most studies have focused on verbal metaphor, monomodal visual metaphor (Forceville 1994, 1996) and multimodal metaphor (Forceville 2007, 2008, 2009) – particularly of the verbo-pictorial variety (Forceville 1996, 2009) – have attracted much attention in recent years. Visual and multimodal metaphors differ from verbal metaphors in several ways (Forceville 2008: 463–476):

1. They have a high degree of specificity resulting from their perceptual immediacy.
2. They are more easily recognized across languages and cultures, since they do not rely on language codes.
3. They have medium-determined ways of cueing the similarity between target and source.
4. They have a stronger emotional impact.

Yus (2009) claims that verbal and visual metaphors are based on the same cognitive mechanism and are therefore liable to be analysed under the CMT paradigm.

#### **1.2.4. Metonymy**

Metonymy is a cognitive device that allows us to use one well-understood aspect of something to stand for the thing as a whole, or for some other aspect of it, or for something to which it is very closely related (Gibbs 1994, cited in Littlemore, 2015: 4). Therefore, like metaphor, metonymy is a cognitive and linguistic mechanism through which we use one thing to refer to another. In other words, while a metaphor is a mapping between two different conceptual domains, a metonymy is a domain-internal conceptual mapping.

Metonymic thinking is widespread and fulfils a referential function, facilitating social ‘distancing’, conveying evaluation and perspective (Littlemore, 2015: 1).

Metonymy studies from the CL perspective include those carried out by Barcelona (2000), Dirven and Pörings (2002), Kristiansen et al. (2006) and Forceville and Urios-Aparisi (2009).

Different metonymy types have been suggested within the CL literature (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 2003; Radden and Kövecses, 1999; Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal-Usón, 2007). The first taxonomy was proposed by Radden and Kövecses (1999), who differentiate between WHOLE AND PART and PART AND PART metonymies, as shown in figure 6.

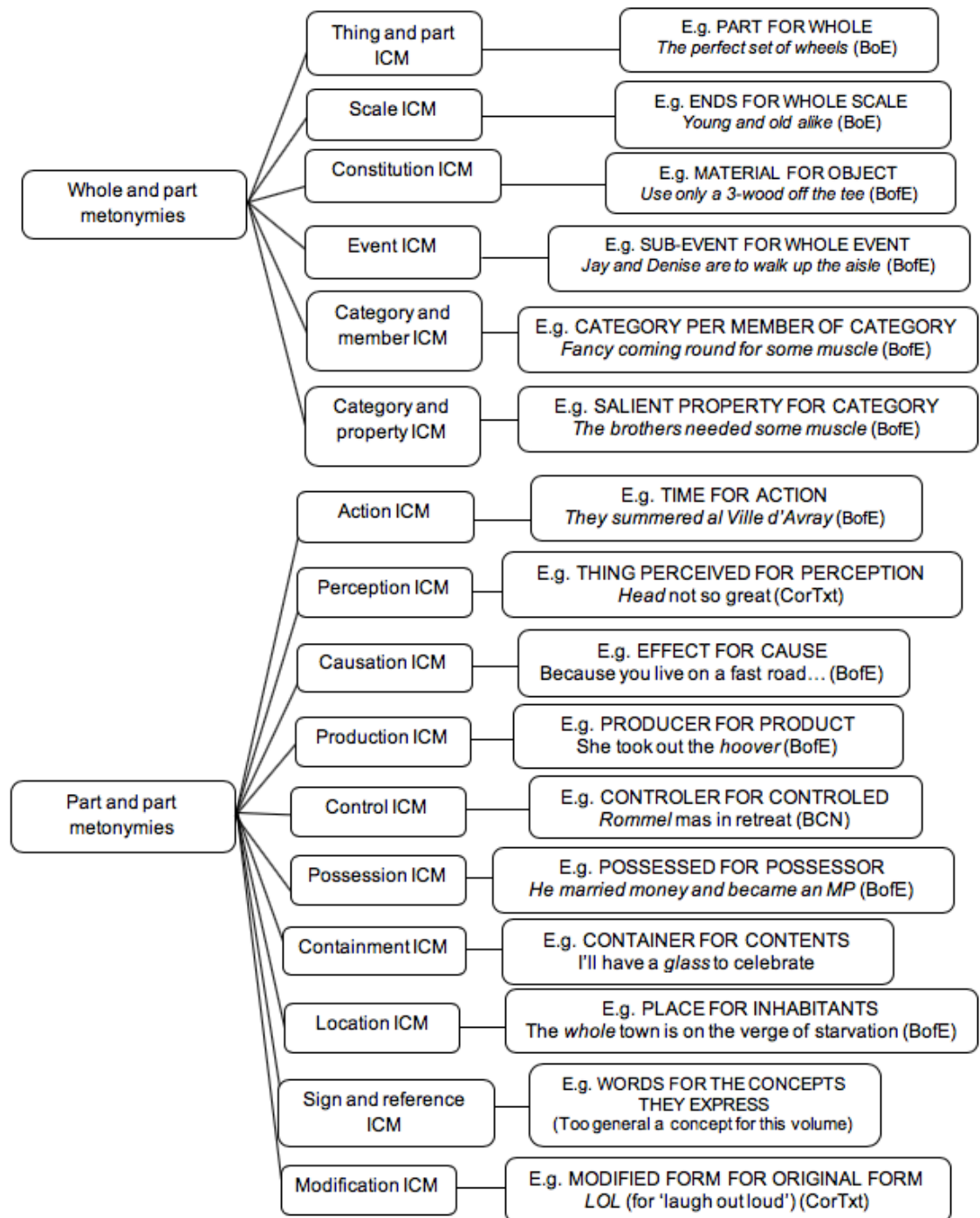


Figure 6. Basic metonymy types according to Radden and Kövecses (1999). In Littlemore (2015: 22).

Radden and Kövecses (1999) also provide the main principles that determine source selection in metonymies, such as human experience, perceptual selectivity, cultural preference, communicative principles and rhetorical effects.

Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez Velasco (2002) suggest two types of metonymy based on the domain-internal nature of metonymic mappings:

- a) Source-in-target metonymies are those in which the source domain is a subdomain of the target domain, e.g. *All handson deck*, where ‘hands’ is a subdomain of PEOPLE. They involve domain expansion.
- b) Target-in-source metonymies are those in which the target is a subdomain of the source, e.g. *The pill* (i.e. the contraceptive pill) is a subdomain of ‘pill’. They involve domain reduction and the consequent highlighting of part of a domain.

As noted by Littlemore (2015: 48–49), this model implies that most metonymies belong to the PART AS WHOLE type.

Barcelona (2003) put forward a metonymy model based on radial categories in which the prototypical metonymies lie in the centre and instantiate a “stand for” relationship. This model was later developed by Handl (2011, 2012). In Handl’s view, the central category involves a full shift of subdomain, whilst the most peripheral ones are cases of domain highlighting, as shown in figure 7 below:

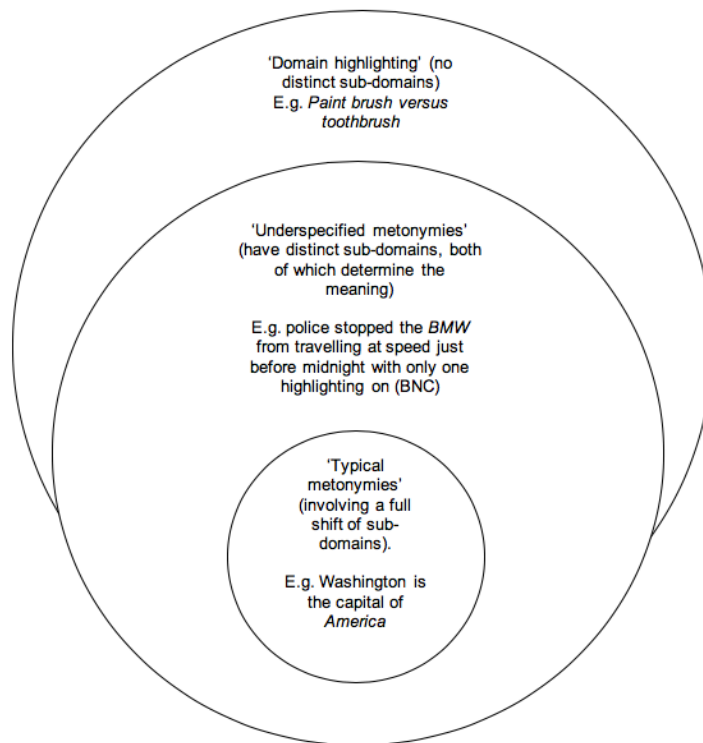


Figure 7. Handl's (2012) model of metonymy. In Littlemore (2015: 58).

Metonymies and (less frequently) metaphors also occur within metaphoric and metonymic complexes (Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal 2007: 77), i.e. double metonymies and double metaphors.

### 1.3. METAPHOR IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE

Metaphor is not only a cognitive and linguistic mechanism, but also a discursive device. As advanced above, Steen postulates a three-dimensional metaphor model (2011: 39–40), which distinguishes (1) metaphor in language; (2) metaphor in thought, and (3) metaphor in communication. In line with this, Garrido defines a *discourse metaphor* as “a relatively stable metaphorical projection that functions as a key framing device within a particular discourse over a certain period of time” (2013: 109). In other words, discourse metaphors are conventionalized genre metaphors that belong to specific text types and thus have prototypical features of registers (Garrido, 2013: 124). The metaphors THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A BUILDING, EUROPE IS A HOUSE and THE STATE IS A HOUSE (Zinken et al., 2008: 363) are examples of discourse metaphors.

Miller (1979: 169) regards the metaphorical method as essential in all forms of discourse and political enquiry, since “it permits us to extend our knowledge from our familiar world to a region that is not given to immediate experience”. He advocated for a manifestationist view on metaphor, which “holds that metaphors can take us beyond the observable and also make manifest the intelligible structure of the unobservable”.

Much research has been carried out into metaphor in many forms of public discourse. Metaphor plays a central role in a wide range of spheres of activity, genres and text types, including advertising (e.g. Forceville, 1996, 2007, 2008; Philips, 2003; Velasco and Fuertes, 2006a,b; Caballero, 2009), religion (Charteris-Black, 2004), foreign language learning (Littlemore and Low, 2006), Internet forums (Crespo-Fernández, 2015), economics, business (Herrera et al., 2006; Herrera and White, 2008; White and Herrera, 2009), financial reporting (Charteris-Black and Ennis, 2001), education (Littlemore, 2001; Cameron, 2003; Low et al., 2008), political cartooning (see section 1.1.2), and politics (Musolff, 2003).

Studies on economic discourse (White, 2003; White, 2004; Charteris-Black, 2004; Skorzynska and Deignan, 2006; Alejo 2010; Wang et al., 2013; Langer 2015;

Negro 2009a, 2009b, 2011, 2012; Hellín-García, 2018) have shown the pervasiveness of metaphors drawing from a range of source domains (WAR, JOURNEY, GAME, SPORTS, BUILDING and HEALTH) in different languages. A few studies have analysed the role of the HEALTH-ILLNESS domain in framing the economic crisis (e.g. Rojo and Orts, 2010; Peckham, 2013; Joris et al., 2014; Arrese, 2015). Hellín-García (2018) emphasises the use of metaphor (and euphemism) to attenuate and cover up particular aspects of the conceptualisation of the economic crisis.

Hidalgo and Kraljevic (2011) discuss the role of multimodal metaphor and metonymy in meaning creation and the spread of new concepts related to information and communication technology. They stress the prevalence of the megametaphor LIFE IS A CYBERSPACE journey. Semino (2008) explores the use and functions of metaphor in different types of discourse, namely politics, science, advertising and the discourse of illness. She claims that in expert scientific discourse metaphor is used for (i) “theory-constitutive” (Boyd 1993: 93) purposes, i.e. to develop theories and models (e.g. COMPUTER metaphors in cognitive psychology; LANGUAGE/COMMUNICATION, CODE/INSTRUCTIONS and INFORMATION metaphors in genetics; WAR/PHYSICAL CONFLICT, LANGUAGE/COMMUNICATION metaphors in immunology); or (ii) pedagogical purposes. In non-expert scientific genres (science popularizations and the general media) metaphors are used for persuasive purposes to influence public and political opinion.

In Semino’s (2008) view, advertising metaphors are exploited to draw the viewers’ attention, as well as to project positive features onto the product (2008: 168–169).

Sancho and Arinas (2013: 183–200) study the use of conceptual and grammatical metaphors in the engineering patents genre.

Semino (2008: 133-155) also explores the variation of particular metaphors, such as the GATE metaphor used to conceptualise pain mechanisms<sup>5</sup>.

Crespo-Fernández (2015) claims that metaphor is a powerful tool in expressing euphemism and dysphemism (the two types of X-phemism) in computer-mediated communication. While euphemistic metaphor serves to eliminate the offensive overtone of a concept, euphemistic metaphor provides the concept with an offensive connotation. In Crespo-Fernández's view, X-phemism influences the positive dimension of face, identified with the individual's desire to be positively regarded in social context. Thus dysphemism can be defined as offensive use of language which results in some kind of face affront, whereas euphemism refers to the use of polite language to mitigate the potential face affront both to the speaker and hearer.

Metaphor and other rhetorical figures have been widely used in public political discourse (Musolff, 2016), despite the attempts to prevent their use made by the 17<sup>th</sup> century English philosophers Thomas Hobbes (*Leviathan*, 1661: 1996) and John Locke (*An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, 1690/2015), who claimed against the misleading character of metaphors. Semino (2008) highlights the pervasiveness of WAR, PATH/JOURNEY, CONTAINER and SPORTS metaphors, and personification in politics.

Much of the research into political discourse has concentrated on the role played by metaphor in speeches, party manifestos and political cartoons (cf. El Refaie, 2009; Negro, 2013, 2014, 2015), among other subgenres.

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<sup>5</sup> The GATE metaphor, first introduced in a scientific academic article by Melzack and Wall (1965), has been adapted and developed in educational texts aimed at different audiences.



Much of the research into political discourse has concentrated on the role played by metaphor in speeches, party manifestos and political cartoons (cf. El Refaie, 2009; Negro, 2013, 2014, 2015), among other subgenres.

The role of political metaphor has been examined from the perspective of cognitive linguistics, discourse analysis, sociolinguistics and pragmatics. These approaches emphasise different functions of metaphor. Strachle et al. (1999: 68) identify a range of purposes for metaphor, including persuasion, legitimation, group solidarity and (citing Chilton, 1996: 74), “the production of new conceptualisations for problematic situations”. Sharifian (2013: 350) highlights the role of political metaphors to establish or legitimize a given perspective. Charteris-Black (2005: 198) emphasises the role of metaphor in the creation of political identity:

Political identity is constructed through metaphor, and without it, politicians would lack hallmarks of charismatic leadership such as passion, energy and conviction. Metaphor choice by a politician is a vital question of leadership style because, like the choice of clothes by an individual, it is a way of appealing to others to share a virtuous social identity.

A close look at the metaphor literature yields the following functions of political metaphor: (1) cognitive; (2) argumentative/ideological; (3) persuasive; and (4) evaluative.

The cognitive role of political metaphor has been explored by many scholars (cf. Chilton and Ilyin, 1993; Semino and Masci, 1996; Strachle et al., 1999; Beer and De Landtsheer, 2004; El Refaie, 2003, 2009; Shiperoord and Maes, 2009; Teng, 2009; Yus, 2009). The cognitive dimension of political metaphor subsumes two aspects. Firstly, metaphor is a means of framing and expressing political issues. In this sense, metaphor is a device to construct the political reality (Graber, 1993). Secondly, political metaphors reify abstractions (Katz, 1996; Thompson, 1996). As Mio and Katz (1996: 1) remark, “politics, being an abstract entity, rely heavily on metaphors to make concepts more tangible”.

Nevertheless, political metaphor does not solely contribute to developing a conceptual framework for expressing ideas. Chilton and Ilyin (1993: 10) focus on the pragmatic role of political metaphor. In much the same line, Charteris-Black (2004, 2005, 2009) and Musolff (Musolff, 1998, 2000, 2004; Musolff and Zinken, 2009) consider the discursive dimensions of metaphor. In this light, metaphor is first a mode of argumentation. As Musolff (2004: 39) remarks, “the argumentative exploitation of conceptual metaphors in political discourse is unlimited”. Political metaphors are very effective in the communication and explanation of policy. They frame arguments and suggest particular conclusions.

De Landtsheer (De Landtsheer, 2009; De Landtsheer and Koch, 2005) and Charteris-Black (2004: 28) claim that metaphor is a useful tool for communicating ideology. Ideology is to be understood in the sense suggested by Kress and Hodge (1993: 15): “Ideology involves a systematically organized presentation of reality”. Lakoff (2002) claims that a cognitive semantic approach to metaphor is useful to identify the ideology behind belief systems. Among the main roles adopted by metaphor in the communication of ideology, Charteris-Black (2014) highlights the following:

- a. Communicating political arguments: this function is related to the classical rhetorical concept of *logos*.
- b. Heightening emotional impact: this function of metaphor is related to the rhetorical concept of *pathos*.
- c. Establishing the ethical integrity of the speaker, i.e. the speaker’s *ethos*.

From a cognitive perspective, ideologies are cognitive phenomena inasmuch as they are “conceptualizations of particular aspects of reality, which include conventional conceptual metaphors alongside other long-term mental representations” (Semino, 2008: 90). As Núñez-Perucha (2011: 100–101) remarks, “unlike CDA, CL has mainly approached ideologies as conceptual systems that are manifested in discourse, rather than as systems of ideas that contribute to maintain or challenge social relations and discursive practices”.

Other mental representations such as ICMs and frames serve an ideological function. Lakoff (1996) argues that modern politics is organised around two opposite and idealised models of the family: the strict father – typical in conservative policies, and the nurturant parent model of family – which features progressive values. Therefore, by analysing the conceptualisation of certain key (*wedge*) issues, we might be able to identify the stand-ins for the whole of the moral system (Lakoff, 2004: 101).

The ideological motivation of metaphor is based on its rhetorical role as a persuasive technique. Mio (1997) claimed that despite inconclusive research on the persuasiveness of metaphor in political discourse, it was found that those who are able to adapt and extend the opponent's metaphor in a political debate were perceived to be more persuasive. For example, Crespo-Fernández's (2013) analysis of Churchill's wartime speeches reveals dysphemistic metaphor (i.e. pejorative conceptual metaphor) as a powerful manipulation device by presenting political rivals negatively. Thus, metaphorical choices also convey the author's subtle evaluation of policies or political rivals. This is confirmed by Goatly (1997: 155):

Metaphor is not a mere reflection of pre-existing reality but a construction of reality, through a categorization entailing a selection of some features as critical and others as non-critical.

Within CDA, as pointed out by Hart (2011), quoting O'Halloran (2003:3), although metaphor has received scholarly attention (Fairclough, 1989, 2000; Fowler, 1991; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001), the interpretation stages have not been comprehensively explored. More recently, several authors have proposed different approaches to integrate CDA and CL, based on cognitive-pragmatic or cognitive-semantic standpoints (O'Halloran, 2003; Chilton, 2004; Hart and Lukeš, 2007; Núñez Perucha, 2010, 2011). For example, following an approach combining Cognitive Metaphor Theory and Critical Discourse Analysis, Muelas-Gil (2018: 101-126) explores metaphor as a persuasive and ideological carrier in political cartoons. Pinar-Sanz's (2018: 127-150) examines the ideological function of metaphor in the Spanish and British press following a multimodal Critical Discourse approach.

Musolff (2004, 2009, 2010, 2016) and Deignan (2010) have highlighted the role of metaphor scenarios in political discourse within the scope of Cultural Linguistics. In Musolff's (2016: 30) terms a scenario is:

[...] a set of assumptions made by competent members of a discourse community about the prototypical elements of a concept, that is, participants, 'dramatic' story lines and default outcomes, as well as ethical evaluations of these elements, which are connected to the social attitudes and emotional stances that are prevalent in the respective discourse community.

Following Musolff (2016: 133–135), a scenario analysis reveals argumentative, narrative and stance-taking patterns in corpora and analyses frequency and collocation patterns in order to link metaphors occurrences with political tendencies and discourse traditions, which are "evaluated in terms of popularity and prominence in the respective discourse communities".

The scenario-based approach is based on a four-step procedure: (1) metaphor reception (identification of the target); (2) semantic reconstruction of the intended meaning; (3) interpretation of the hearer (understanding the piece of "figurative discourse"); and (4) ideological acceptance of the argument and the political implications. In the fourth step, metaphors are integrated as scenarios, ideologically accepted as a 'convincing' argument that suggests specific political conclusions and perhaps further practical 'solutions' within a community.

### 1.3.1. Critical metaphor analysis

In *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*, Charteris-Black (2004) emphasises the need for a multi-dimensional approach to metaphor analysis, including linguistic, pragmatic and cognitive criteria, namely Critical Metaphor Analysis (henceforth CMA). He emphasises the distinction between encoders and decoders of metaphoric expressions.

This is because one cannot ensure an exact fit between the intentions of encoders of metaphors and the interpretation of decoders; these will vary between individuals according to the contexts in which metaphors occur and their own experience of these contexts.

(Charteris-Black, 2004: 7)

The cognitive component of CMA mainly draws on Lakoff's CMT. It is then assumed that meaning transfer is the result of a mapping from a source domain onto a target domain. The mapping preserves the cognitive topology, i.e. the structure of the target domain. As Charteris-Black (2004: 14) points out, "mappings involve a set of relations rather than single attributes, so that what is transferred is knowledge of a set of properties, their behaviour and interrelations as they are known in the source domain". Therefore, the transfer implies a shift in the conceptual system. Metaphor is the linguistic instantiation of such shift:

[...] a linguistic representation that results from the shift in the use of a word or phrase from the context or domain in which it is expected to occur, thereby causing semantic tension. (Charteris-Black 2004: 20–21).

Charteris-Black identifies three linguistic strategies for causing semantic tension:

- a) Reification: a word or phrase that normally refers to something concrete is used to refer to something which is abstract, as in: "Britain's complex and unwieldy

planning system has long been cited as a significant *barrier* to growth and wealth creation”.

- b) Personification: referring to something which is inanimate using a word or phrase that in other contexts refer to something which is animate, e.g.: “Britain *cannot continue indefinitely to spend more than she is earning* without higher taxes or higher interest rates – either of which will harm our economic prospects”.
- c) Depersonification: referring to something that is animate using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something which is inanimate. This is the least common strategy in our corpus, since the nature of political issues is inanimate.

Charteris-Black (2004) postulates a hierarchical organisation of the conceptual level according to the level of abstractness. He makes a distinction between metaphors, conceptual metaphors and conceptual keys. *Conceptual metaphors* and *conceptual keys* are abstractions from a given metaphor. “The purpose of inferring conceptual metaphors from surface ones is to enable us to identify patterns of interrelationship between metaphors that account for their meaning” (Charteris-Black, 2004: 244). A *conceptual key* is “a statement that resolves the semantic tension of conceptual metaphors by showing them to be related” (ibid: 22). The use of conceptual keys makes the analysis more coherent and provides a simpler model for metaphorical description, since it allows for unveiling the interrelationship between different domains.

Figure 8 below, based on Charteris-Black (2004), illustrates this hierarchical model from discourses in politics, sports reporting and religion.

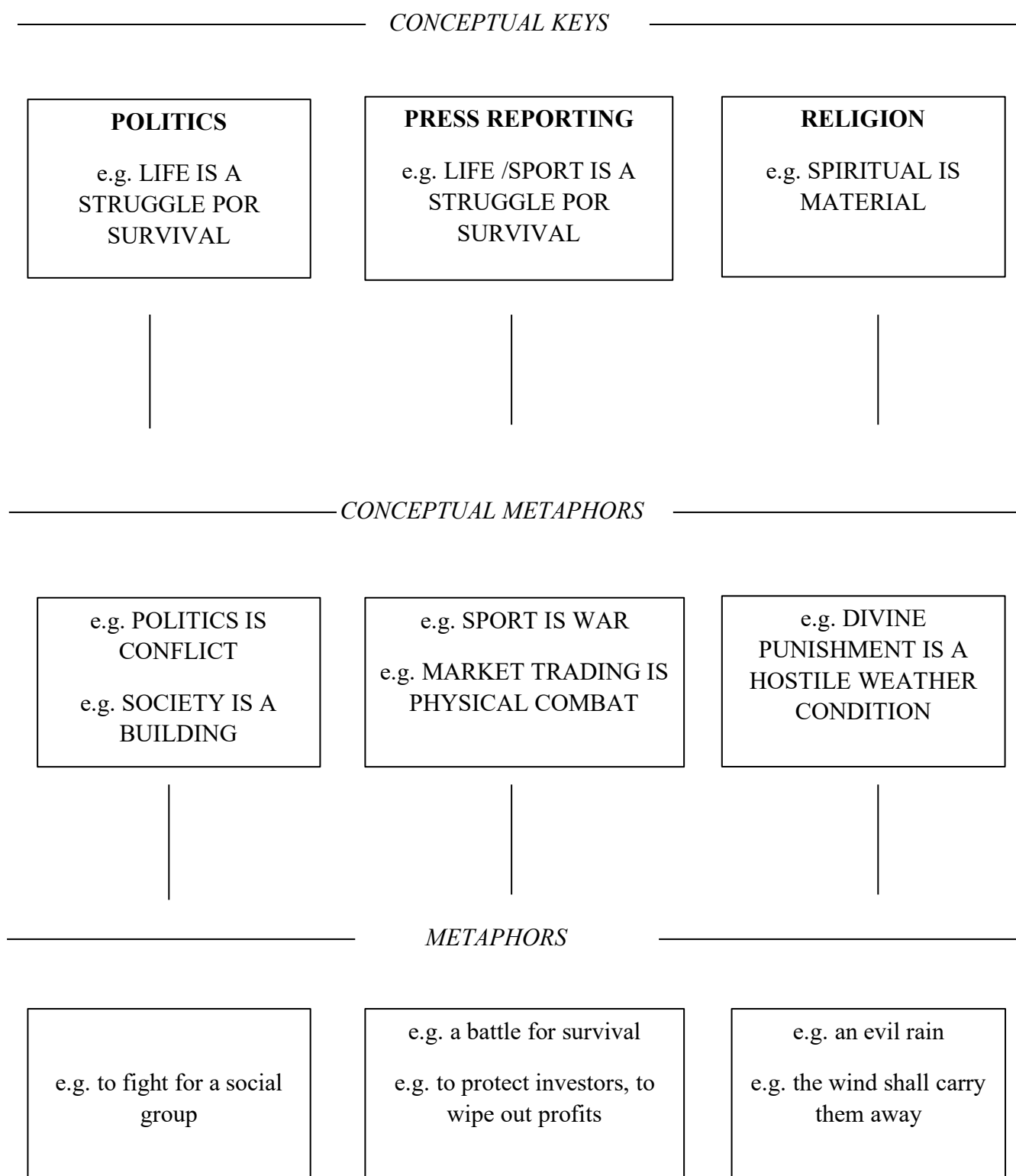


Figure 8. Hierarchical model of metaphor in different types of discourses (Charteris-Black 2004: 245).

As can be seen above, the expression ‘to fight for a social group’ is the linguistic realisation which can be found in the text. This is termed *metaphor* in Charteris-Black’s model. It is the visible element of the first level of abstraction, known as *conceptual metaphor*, which is to be formulated as TARGET DOMAIN IS THE SOURCE DOMAIN. In this case, conceptualisation draws on the source domain of conflict, and thus the conceptual metaphor can be formulated as POLITICS IS CONFLICT. The *conceptual key*, which represents the highest level of abstraction, is LIFE IS A STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL. Politics is understood as one of the possible activities to be carried out in a more abstract entity, which is life. The source domain of conflict has a further abstraction level, as shown by ‘struggle’. This abstraction process facilitates the organisation of different conceptual metaphors within a single conceptual key, in the same way as a conceptual metaphor is instantiated by different linguistic realisations.

Figure 9 presents Charteris-Black’s discourse model for metaphor, whereby metaphor choice in discourse depends on both individual resources and social resources. Individual resources are divided into three types: (1) cognitive and affective resources (the individual’s experience); (2) pragmatic resources (what the objective is); and (3) linguistic resources (commandment of the language). The social resources include the ideology underlying discourse, which indicates what is positively evaluated and what is not, and the identity of the target group.



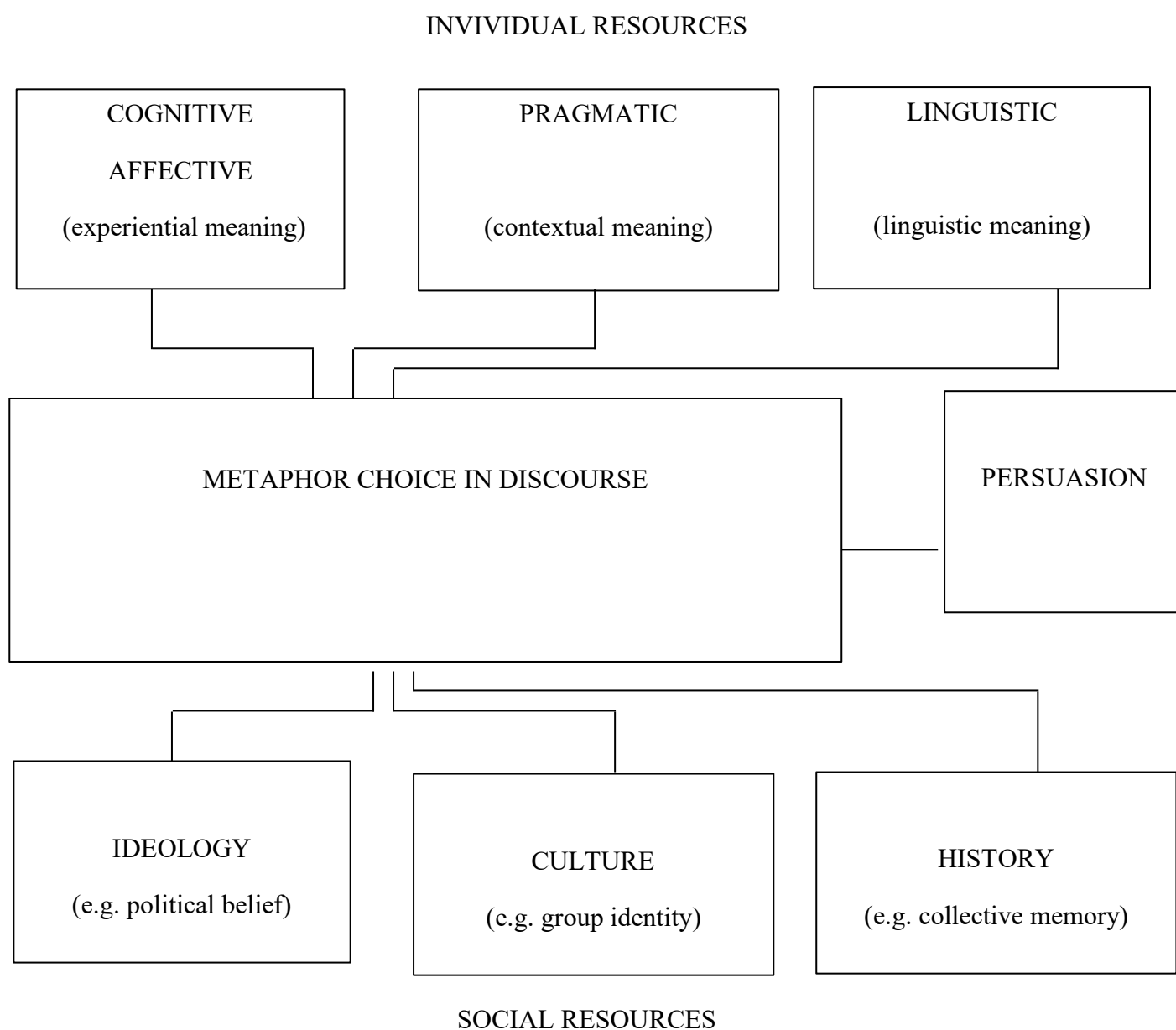


Figure 9. Charteris-Black's discourse model for metaphor (2004: 248).

In *Analysing Political Speeches* (2014: 200–218) Charteris-Black identified a range of purposes for metaphor: (1) gaining attention and establishing trust: this is normally the objective of prologues in political speeches, because gaining attention by demonstrating that the speaker has the right intentions contributes to the persuasive purpose of metaphor; (2) heuristic: metaphor can be used to frame complex issues (such as economic matters) so that they are tangible for the audience; (3) predicative: metaphors are commonly used to convey a positive or negative evaluation; (4) empathetic: metaphors can be used to arouse emotions, normally associated with personifications and intertextuality (alluding to historical uses of metaphor); (5) aesthetic: its purpose is normally fulfilled in prologues and epilogues of speeches, as a way to provide the speech with coherence and balance; (6) ideological: metaphors can be systematically used to create long-term mental representations; (7) mythic: metaphors can be used to engage the hearer by providing stories which “express aspects of the unconscious” (Charteris-Black, 2014: 215).

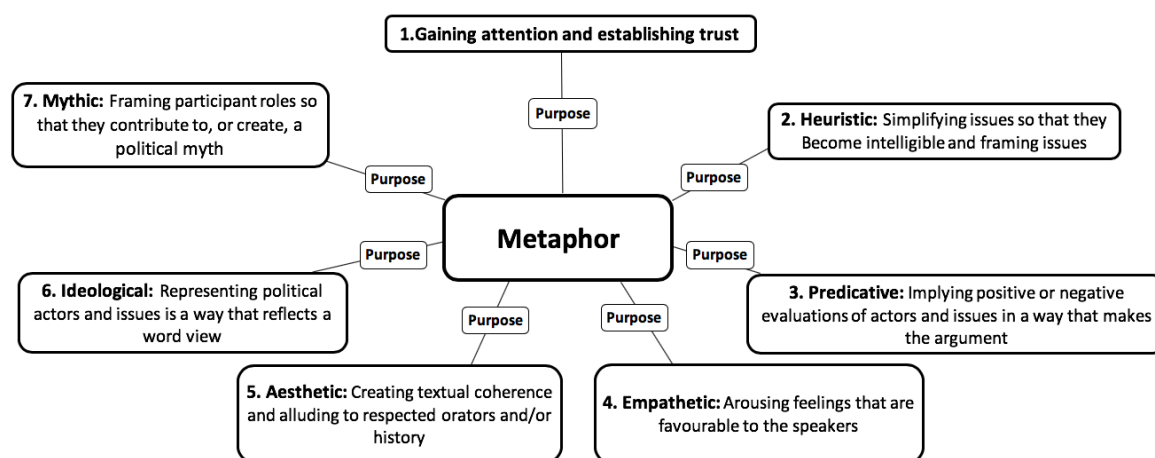


Figure 10. Persuasive purposes of metaphor. From Charteris-Black (2014: 201).

### 1.3.2. Metaphor studies in political discourse

Metaphor research into political discourse has been carried out from various perspectives. Since the 1990s there has been a growing interest in the use of metaphor for persuasive purposes in political discourse within the scope of Discourse Analysis and Cognitive Linguistics, reflected in the study of political issues such as security policies (Chilton, 1996), economic issues such as unemployment (Straehle et al., 1999), and social issues such as immigration (Charteris-Black, 2005).

From a Cognitive Linguistics perspective, Lakoff (1996, 2004) discussed two developments of the FAMILY metaphor in US politics: the strict father model and the nurturant father model. He also analysed the debates of American conservatives on the basis of frames (2004). He showed that, soon after the beginning of the Bush administration, the term ‘tax relief’ spread from the administration public statements to the media and eventually to the Democratic Party. ‘Relief’ conveys the idea that there is an affliction, a patient who is suffering it and someone who administers the relief, a healer. By using ‘tax’ together with ‘relief’, the metaphor TAXATION IS AN AFFLICTION is activated. This metaphor appears in our corpus.

Charteris-Black (2004) used CMA to identify the main metaphors used in British politics. More specifically, he sought to show how conceptualisation patterns as manifested in metaphor supported ideological tenets in the manifestos of Labour and Conservative parties launched for the general elections between 1945 and 1997, when New Labour entered office. Four corpora were analysed: two conservative ones (1945-1970 and 1974-1997) and two Labour ones (same division). Although the study includes the 1992 and 1997 manifestos, the findings are presented by periods covering a wide range of years (e.g. 1974-1997), and there is no specific information about the conceptualisation of economic issues.

Charteris-Black’s analysis reveals that ideological differences do not result in significant differences in the choice of source domains. Instead, the Labour and

Conservative parties drawing from a limited number of domains, namely CONFLICT, JOURNEY, RELIGION, PLANTS, and BUILDING. As will be shown in Section 3, the same domains underlie the corpora analysed in the present research.

No relevant differences in frequency of use were found, either (Charteris-Black, 2004:68). CONFLICT metaphors, based upon the conceptual keys SOCIETY IS A PERSON and LIFE IS A STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL, account for nearly 40% of the total number of metaphors. The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS CONFLICT is similarly used by the two parties. However, ‘attack’ metaphors are used by the Conservatives to defend social values and to depict Labour as an aggressor.

The second most important source domain was that of BUILDING. Charteris-Black formulates the conceptual metaphor WORTHWHILE ACTIVITY IS A BUILDING. Both parties use terms such as ‘framework’ and ‘foundation’ to evaluate political action positively. In contrast, the term ‘barrier’ is widely used in Conservative discourse with a negative meaning. The Conservatives blame Labour for such barriers.

Within the domain of JOURNEY, Charteris-Black suggests the conceptual metaphor PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELLING TOWARDS A DESTINATION. The Conservatives understand the notion of progress in terms of time rather than in terms of movement in space, which was typical of Labour until the New Labour manifesto. Besides, the metaphor ‘burden’ conveys a negative evaluation in Conservative manifestos, often referring to taxation.

PLANT metaphors are triggered by terms such as ‘growth’ and ‘flourish’ to conceptualise economic expansion through the association of fertility with life, or of a sound economic situation with a state of health.

Religious metaphors are more relevant in the Labour corpus. The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS RELIGION is expressed by terms such as ‘vision’ and ‘faith’. The domain of RELIGION underlies the discourse of New Labour, which intended to provide a “religious dimension to ethical discourse”.

In *Politics and Rhetoric* (2005) Charteris-Black analysed the main rhetorical effects achieved through metaphorical conceptualisation in the speeches of remarkable political leaders like Churchill, Thatcher and Blair. The analysis reveals how metaphor mediates between ideology and myth and constructs political identity (see section 1.3. above). For example, Thatcher’s rhetoric was characterised by the *myth of Boedicia*, whereby the former Prime Minister presented herself as a leader who stood up against the division of the country. This division was expressed through CONFLICT metaphors which conveyed extremely negative evaluations of her political opponents, e.g. POLITICAL OPPONENTS ARE ENEMIES.

Charteris-Black’s (2006) analysis of the 2005 general election in Britain on the basis of political speeches revealed how the interplay of the conceptual metaphors IMMIGRATION IS A NATURAL DISASTER and BRITAIN IS A CONTAINER contributed to the legitimisation of British right-wing political discourse.

Within the scope of Critical Discourse Analysis, Fairclough’s (2000) study of the New Labour language highlights the importance of the personalisation of international relationships between nation-states in New Labour discourse when cooperation is presented as the recommended *modus operandi* in international affairs. By contrast, personalisation, along with with a view of globalisation as a tidal wave, underlie the conceptualisation of international competition in the rhetoric of New Labour under Blair, with the aim of creating a need for survival.

De Landtsheer (2009) put forward a political and semantic approach to metaphor known as Metaphor Power (MP) Method, which takes into account quantitative and qualitative variables in the analysis of metaphor frequency, intensity and content. The

index that results from multiplying the score of each variable shows not only the quantitative prevalence of metaphor in a political discourse but also “the metaphor style character of one or more pieces of political discourse” (2009: 65). It has been validated in different case studies such as the communication of crisis by politicians and the media (De Landtsheer and De Vrij, 2004). The categories of *body*, *disease*, *medical* and *death* were found to have the highest persuasion power, while *nature* metaphors rank amongst the weakest.

Catalano and Waugh (2013) analysed the metonymies reflected in public political discourse on financial topics in the US and Europe. They looked at both the text and the images supporting the articles.

Feldman (1995) explores the portrayal of the Japanese Prime Minister in political cartoons. He links the Japanese’s characteristic adeptness at “processing large amounts of information presented in images and in perceiving and distinguishing between minute imagistic nuances” (1995: 548) to the written features of the Japanese language, which mainly consists of words made of ideographs.

Plumb (2004) analyses the way in which Bell depicts political leaders in cartoons published in *The Guardian*. The visual representation draws upon pop cultural icons such as super heroes.

Popa (2013) investigates the television genre of animated political cartoons in Rumania. She analysed the interpretation of zoomorphs, i.e., (THE PRESIDENT IS A LION). She found out that animal metaphors are deeply rooted in popular culture, which results in the optimisation of the meaning transfer thanks to which animal features are transferred onto a politician.

Negro (2013) has studied metaphor-metonymy interaction in French political cartooning. In her study of visual and verbo-pictorial metaphors in Spanish political cartoons (2014), she found that metaphor and metonymy often occur within conceptual chains in which sources and targets of metonymies are normally visually cued, whilst metaphorical sources and targets are both visually and verbally activated.

## **2. METHOD**

This section deals with the methodological approach adopted in this study. It is divided into three subsections. The first one provides a description of the corpus. The second subsection presents the software tools used for the corpus analysis and identification of metaphors, Antconc, together with a description of the software settings and other relevant materials such as dictionaries. The third subsection explains the procedure: corpus selection, metaphor identification and explanation of the role of metaphor in the Conservative manifestos between 1997 and 2015.

### **2.1.CORPUS DESCRIPTION**

#### **2.1.1. The manifesto corpus**

In order to answer the research questions in the introduction section, the last five manifestos issued by the Conservative Party until the 2015 general election were selected. Since manifestos are the way political parties in modern democracies put forward their proposals, they should truthfully reflect their ideology and thus be considered a reliable source of information for the purposes of this study.

In order to analyse the metaphors used by the Conservative Party and track the ideological evolution which the Conservatives under Cameron claimed, I compiled a corpus consisting of the political manifestos launched by the Conservative Party for the general elections of 1997, 2001, 2005, 2010 and 2015. Since metaphorical conceptualisation in Thatcher's discourse has been thoroughly studied by Charteris-Black (2004, 2005), the manifestos launched under Thatcher (1979, 1983, 1987 and 1992) were not included in the research. Despite alleged differences between Major and Thatcher's policies, as his first decisions on European matters and social issues showed



(Bale, 2011: 36-37), there is an ideological continuity<sup>6</sup> between Thatcher's manifestos and the 1992 manifesto under Major, so the 1992 manifesto has been excluded from the corpus. The corpus then consists of the five manifestos released by the Conservative Party for the general elections of 1997, 2001, 2005, 2010 and 2015. The documents and their length are detailed in table 1:

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<sup>6</sup>As noticed by the BBC in its analysis of the 2005 campaign, "The theme of spreading opportunity and choice, as well as rolling back the state, ran throughout the manifesto, marking the continuity between the Thatcher and Major governments".  
([http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/politics/vote\\_2005/basics/4393317.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/vote_2005/basics/4393317.stm)).

<b>MANIFESTO</b>	<b>General Election</b>	<b>NUMBER OF WORDS</b>
<i>You can only be sure with the Conservatives</i>	1997	21,023
<i>Time for Common Sense</i>	2001	13,122
<i>Are you thinking what we're thinking?</i>	2005	7,488
<i>Invitation to join the Government of Britain</i>	2010	26,355
<i>Quality of Life</i>	2010	9,327
<i>Armed Forces</i>	2010	6,604
<i>Public Sector</i>	2010	5,727
<i>Older People</i>	2010	4,800
<i>Equalities</i>	2010	9,035
<i>Strong leadership. A clear economic plan. A brighter, more secure future</i>	2015	31,288

Table 1. Manifestos issued by the Conservative Party from 1997 to 2015.

The first document, the 1997 manifesto, was published by the Conservatives under the leadership of John Major, who ran for Premiership in the general election of 1997. After 11 years of Thatcherism, inner division in Thatcher's government resulted in her resignation in November 1990<sup>7</sup>. Her successor was Major, who held charge as the party's Whip at the Commons and won the 1992 general election.

The 1997 manifesto was the second and last one launched under the leadership of Major. It amounts to 21,066 words. It was downloaded from <http://www.conservative-party.net/manifestos/1997/1997-conservative-manifesto.shtml>. Its table of contents is presented below.

*Foreword*

*The Enterprise Centre of Europe*

*1. Doubling Living Standards*

*2. Jobs and Business*

*3. Choice and Security for Families*

*4. Education and Opportunity*

*5. Security in Health*

*6. Better Public Services*

*7. Law, Order and Security*

*8. The Best Place in the World to Live*

*9. Europe and the World*

*10. The Constitution*

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<sup>7</sup><http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/special/politics97/background/pastelec/ge92con.shtml>.

The 2001-2005 manifestos were launched with the aim of winning the general elections in 2001 (under Hague) and 2005 (under Howard). Both manifestos failed to draw the electorate's attention and give evidence of the party's attempt to reposition itself in the political ground by moving to the ideological right. This is supported by Norton (2008: 326): "The electorate did not trust the party and had no idea where it was going. The 2001 election was thus a repeat of 1997, and the 2005 election to a large extent a repeat of 2001". For this reason, they are analysed together.

The 2001 manifesto was downloaded from <http://www.conservative-party.net/manifestos/2001/2001-conservative-manifesto.shtml>. It amounts to 13,122 words and it is divided into the following sections:

- *Time for common sense* (foreword)
- *Raising a Family: More choice and higher standards in schools, Freeing our universities, Reducing barriers for students.*
- *Living Safely: More police, tougher sentences, Victims first*
- *Earning a living.* This section deals with taxation issues, including *Lower Taxes, Clearer and Simpler Taxes, Less Regulation, Five Disciplines for a Sound Economy.*
- *Staying Healthy:* This section shows the Conservative standpoint on NHS management.
- *Growing older:* This section is about economic issues concerning the elderly, and includes sub-headings such as: *Freeing Pensioners from Tax, Higher Pensions, Funded Pensions and long term care.*

- *A world leader: In Europe, not run by Europe, A military power and a staunch ally, Coming to the aid of others, Taking a lead in the world, A safe haven, not a soft touch, on asylum.*
- *A Stronger Society.* This section focuses on microeconomic issues such as savings and employment. It is composed by the following sub-sections: *Welfare without the State, Improve their Long-term Employment Prospects, Helping People into the Labour Market, An Effective Attack on Fraud, and Transport*
- *Town and country: Recovering from and Mouth and A Strategy for Recovery, Farming and the countryside, Transport, a Wider environment, The regeneration of urban Britain.*
- *Civilised country: Freeing our culture from political interference, Championing sport, Freeing the media and communications industries.*
- *A proud democracy: Revitalising local government, Restoring balance in the constitution, Northern Ireland and Restoring faith in politics.*
- *Time to deliver*

The 2005 manifesto was downloaded from <http://www.conservatives.com/pdf/manifesto-uk-2005.pdf>. It is the shortest document in the corpus (7,488 words) and images play an important role. Howard, a hardcore Conservative who held cabinet positions under Thatcher and Major cabinets, placed the focus of the campaign on the ‘right to choose’, deliberately echoing Thatcher’s ‘right to buy’, as pointed out by Bale (2011: 217).

The 2005 manifesto is divided into the following sections:

- *The British Dream* (foreword)
- *Value for Money and Lower Taxes*. This section lays out the main economic proposals for the term.
- *Flexible Healthcare and School Discipline*
- *Safer Communities and More Police*
- *Secure Borders and Controlled Immigration*
- *Accountability and Defending our Freedoms*

The 2010 manifesto played an important role in the first Conservative victory in a general election after almost 20 years and is supposed to contain the main principles of Progressive Conservatism. The document was released on 13 April 2010, a month before the general election, and its content was much-awaited by the press, probably eager to know whether the Conservative policies would allow the creation of new labels<sup>8</sup>. The relevance of the document is also acknowledged by its authors:

This manifesto is the most important stage so far on a journey that began four and a half years ago, when the Conservative Party itself voted for change by electing David Cameron as its leader. Since then, the Party has remoulded itself for the modern era, applying its deepest values and beliefs to the urgent problems of the hour.

(Conservative 2010 manifesto, p. 5)

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<sup>8</sup> The impact caused by the launch of the manifesto can be measured by Tim Montgomerie's articles for *The Guardian*, which can be consulted at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2010/apr/13/david-cameron-change-instalments>.

There are different versions of the 2010 manifesto depending on the intended addressees. We have analysed the large-print version, which corresponds to the printed version, and was downloaded from the official Conservative Party's web site<sup>9</sup>. The .pdf document has 92 pages, while the printed version has 118. This is due to differences in the format print. The printed version contains photographs and figures, and some sections are presented in a two-column format. The manifesto has 26,355 words and is divided into a number of headings:

- *Invitation to join the government of Britain* and *Foreword* cover the first eight pages of the document and were included in the analysis because they state the general intention of the manifesto and establish the main topics. They thus serve as the introductory section of the manifesto and reveal the “persuasive importance of the first section” (Charteris-Black, 2004: 55) of a manifesto.
- *Change the economy*. This section is the longest one; it is sub-divided into ten sub-sections dealing with the main sectors of the British economy<sup>10</sup>. It is probably the most relevant section since it immediately follows the foreword. On the whole, 22 pages are devoted to the economy in the manifesto.
- *Change society*. This section develops one of the key ideas underlying Cameron's leadership: the ‘Big Society’. It will be discussed in detail below, but at this stage, suffice it to say that the expression ‘Big Society’ is to be understood as the policies aiming to integrate social solidarity theories within the free market. Issues like family protection, NHS management and education are included in this section.
- *Change politics*. All the Conservative reforming policies about the political configuration of the UK are included here. These measures are based on the principles of transparency and accountability of British institutions.

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<sup>9</sup> The manifesto can be downloaded from [http://media.conservatives.s3.amazonaws.com/manifesto/cpmanifesto2010\\_largeprint.pdf](http://media.conservatives.s3.amazonaws.com/manifesto/cpmanifesto2010_largeprint.pdf).

<sup>10</sup> Sub-sections are presented in the corresponding analysis section.

- *Protect the environment.* For the first time ever, a Conservative manifesto included a section specifically devoted to the environment. One of the headings of this section, '*Vote blue, go green,*' worked as a political motto during the months before the general election.
- *Promote our national interest.* The last section of the manifesto deals with issues such as the position of the UK in the world, the relationship between the UK and the European Union, and the military.

There is a set of parallel documents meant to address specific target voters:

- *Modern Conservatism: Our Quality of Life Agenda.* 9,327 words. Available on <http://www.multifaiths.com/pdf/QualityLifeAgenda.pdf>
- *A New Covenant of our Armed Forces and their Families.* 6,604 words. It includes all the measures the party aimed to implement regarding the armed forces, from equipment to family support. It was downloaded from <http://conservativehome.blogs.com/files/armed-forces-manifesto.pdf>.
- Public Sector. *An Invitation to Public Sector Workers* 5,727 words. Available on <http://fairpay.org.uk/docs/Public-Sector-Manifesto.pdf>.
- Older People. *An Invitation to the older People.* 4,800 words. Available on [http://www.cpa.org.uk/cpa\\_documents/an\\_invitation\\_to\\_older\\_people\[1\]\\_conservative.pdf](http://www.cpa.org.uk/cpa_documents/an_invitation_to_older_people[1]_conservative.pdf).
- Equalities *A Contract for Equalities.* 9,035 words. Available on [http://www.lgbtory.co.uk/sites/www.lgbtory.co.uk/files/conservative\\_party\\_contract\\_for\\_equalities\\_2010.pdf](http://www.lgbtory.co.uk/sites/www.lgbtory.co.uk/files/conservative_party_contract_for_equalities_2010.pdf).



Lastly, the 2015 manifesto was downloaded from <https://s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/manifesto2015/ConservativeManifesto2015.pdf>. Its front page presents the main pledges for the 2015 general election “*A Strong Leadership, A Clear Economic Plan, A Brighter, More Secure Future*”. It is the longest manifesto launched by the Conservatives, with 31,288 words on 82 pages. It was introduced three weeks before the general election, on 14 April 2015.

Its proposals fall within the following sections:

- *Foreword*
- *An Economic Plan to Help You and your Family*. This section lays out the Conservative economic policy.
- *Jobs for All*. The second section discusses the measures affecting the labour market.
- *Cutting your taxes, Making Welfare Fairer and Controlling Immigration*. This section combines macroeconomic policies, such as fiscal policy-making, with an economic approach to social issues such as immigration.
- *The Best Schools and Hospitals for You and Your Family*. This section is concerned with education and NHS management, as well as cultural aspects such as heritage and sports. It includes a sub-section on the Big Society.
- *Securing Your Home and Your Neighbourhood*. This is the section concerned with property, the environment, energy, crime and other forms of violence.
- *Dignity in Your Retirement*. Unlike the previous manifesto, the elderly are dealt with in an independent section of the manifesto.

- *Keeping your country secure.* This section resembles other sections in previous manifestos discussing foreign affairs and the European Union.
- *Conclusion*

In all, all the manifestos compiling the corpus under study amount to 136,817 words.

### **2.1.2. The cartoon corpus**

In the second part of the study, we examined the perception of Conservative policies by the British press through the analysis of cartoons and the role played by metaphor in them.

As noted by El Refaie (2009: 173), citing Edwards (1997), Philippe (1982) and Templin (1999), who analysed cartoons depicting Hillary Clinton as the First Lady, political cartoons are a good source to explore multimodal metaphor since it is a “very common device” for cartoonists. In addition, metaphor in political cartooning reflects the standpoint taken by the author and thus the editorial character of the newspaper.

We were aware that the satirical nature of political cartoons might be an obstacle in showing the perception of Conservative proposals by the British press – a left-wing newspaper would assess Conservative policies negatively. Therefore, we chose to compile a corpus consisting of the editorial cartoons published in the two most widely-spread Conservative broadsheet newspapers: *The Telegraph* and *The Times*, and their sisters *The Sunday Telegraph* and *The Sunday Times*. The cartoons were selected according to their availability in the cartoon archive and the dates and topics dealt with according to the keywords provided by the advanced search tool, which revealed not only the topic, but also the character portrayed in the cartoon. After the selection, the

cartoons which did not reflect any kind of metaphorical conceptualisation were discarded.

Due to the short time span of a manifesto in the press (the release date) and the overwhelming number of topics dealt with in an electoral campaign, we decided to select cartoons from the years when the general elections were held. In so doing, we covered the so-called pre-electoral campaign, a period where most parties start outlining their manifestos, and the first months after the general election, when the Conservatives took office – in 2010 and 2015, or suffered the effects of the electoral defeat and held leadership contests – in 1997, 2001 and 2005.

The corpus is made up of 246 cartoons published in *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Times* or their sister publications between January 1997 and December 2015: 128 cartoons from *The Telegraph* and 117 strips from *The Times* strips. The most important cartoonists for *The Telegraph* are Nicholas Garland (54 cartoons before 2010) and Christian Adams (54 cartoons), while *The Times* is mainly represented by Peter Brookes (71 cartoons) and Morten Morland (31).

The cartoon corpus is distributed as follows:

Section	Number of cartoons
1997	53
2001-2005	40
2010	78
2015	75

Table 2. Number of cartoons analysed in each section of the corpus.

Once selected, each cartoon was allotted to a topic. There are five main topics in the corpus, namely *Leadership*, *Domestic Issues*, *BNI: Foreign Affairs* or *BNI: European Union* and *Economic Issues*. Each topic is discussed in a particular section. The different sections cover the following issues:

- *Leadership*: The cartoons in this section depict the political leader of the time or those prominent Conservative politicians who ran the leadership contest after losing the elections in 1997, 2001 and 2005.
- *Economic Issues*: The cartoons within this section focus on macroeconomic issues. The economy became the prominent issue in the British press when the bursting debt crisis spread across European countries.
- *British National Interest (Foreign Affairs)*: Being the smallest section of the corpus, it reflects the international position of the UK and Conservative leaders within the international community, focusing on the British participation in conflicts, the special relationship with the United States and some official visits of Prime Ministers.
- *Domestic Issues*: This section is composed by cartoons dealing with political scandals –known as *sleaze*, fight against crime, immigration issues and other public services policies, such as education and health services.

The 1997 section comprises 53 cartoons, distributed as follows.

Topic	Number of cartoons
Leadership	17
Economic issues	10
British national interest	16
Domestic issues	10

Table 3. The 1997 cartoon section.

In the 1997 cartoon section the press focused on Major's leadership, which was already at stake before the general election and the integration of the UK in the European Union, chiefly represented by the launch of the new European currency, the euro.

The 2001-2005 cartoon section is smaller. The reason is that the Conservatives lost the 1997 general election, and, as a result, they did not only partially lost media attention, but also the ability to politically manoeuvre. Accordingly, their leadership contests after each electoral defeat received media attention, as shown in the distribution of cartoons and topics.

<b>Topic</b>	<b>Number of cartoons</b>
Leadership	21
Economic issues	6
British national interest	6
Domestic issues	7

Table 4. The 2001-2005 cartoon section.

In contrast, the 2010 and 2015 cartoon sections were larger. This may be partially attributed to the position of the Conservatives, who regained power in 2010, and the solid position of Cameron as the Conservative leader. The 2008 economic turmoil, which started in the United States and spread to Europe, was the main concern at the time, and the measures to solve Britain's deficit problem were the most common topics in 2010, as shown in the 2010 section, where nearly 50% of the cartoons selected focus on economic issues. The 2010 section consists of 79 cartoons, distributed as follows:

<b>Topic</b>	<b>Number of Cartoons</b>
Leadership	10
Economic issues	30
British national interest	16
Domestic issues	22

Table 5. The 2010 cartoon section.

The 2015 section is similar to the 2010 section (75 and 78 cartoons respectively). The distribution of topics is fairly balanced, as shown in table 6.

<b>Topic</b>	<b>Number of Cartoons</b>
Leadership	15
Economic issues	14
British national Interest	24
Domestic issues	22

Table 6. The 2015 cartoon section.

In the 2015 cartoon section, the European Union is the prevalent topic. As will be seen below, the Conservative Party promised to hold an in/out referendum on European Union membership before 2017. The management of NHS and other social services was the other relevant topic in 2015.

## 2.2.TOOLS USED TO ANALYSE THE MANIFESTO CORPUS

### 2.2.1. Software Selection and setting: AntConc 3.4.4.

We used a software programme for two reasons. First, to avoid *resonance* (Cameron and Low, 2004), i.e. the interpretation and reinterpretation of word meaning every time we read a text. Second, to avoid manually tagging metaphorically used lexical units.

We chose the corpus tools provided by the AntLab, founded and directed by Dr. Laurence Anthony at Waseda University in Japan. There are 14 applications in the toolkit, which is constantly developing, and some of them are particularly relevant for the purposes of the study. They were downloaded from the AntLb webpage: <http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/>.

AntFile Converter, 1.2.0 for Mac OS X, was used to convert the downloaded texts into .txt.

The main tool was AntConc (v. 3.4.4), the freeware concordance and text analysis toolkit provided by the AntLab. We chose the latest version, launched in 2014 (3.4.4 for Mac OS X). The toolkit consists of:

- Word List: This tool presents all the words in a text in a list according to the number of hits. This allowed identifying the most frequent words in the corpus as a whole and in each of the subcorpora, and thus the topics dealt with. The Word List also showed words which could trigger a metaphor, as shown in figure 11.

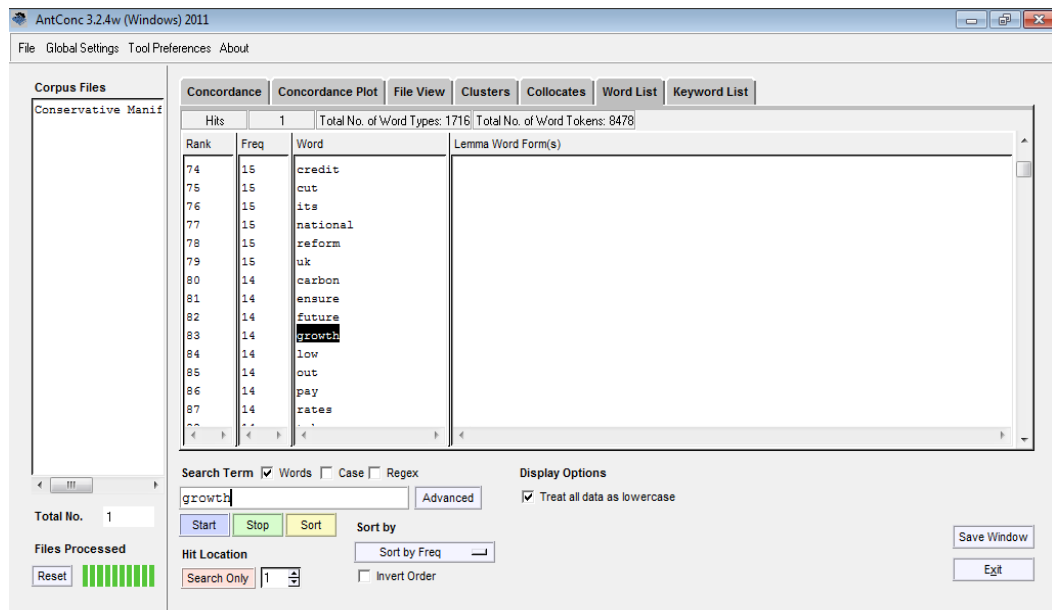


Figure 11. Screenshot of the Word List tool, as applied to the 2010 section of the manifesto corpus.

The Word List tool was used to carry out the wordlist function, which retrieves a list of lemmas arranged according to frequency or alphabetical order.

In order to obtain an accurate word list, it was necessary that the software should assign the different inflections that words may adopt to the same lemma. To do so, a specific list is available on the AntLab site. The lemma list from the BNC corpus was loaded into the software from the tool preferences menu (see figure 12).



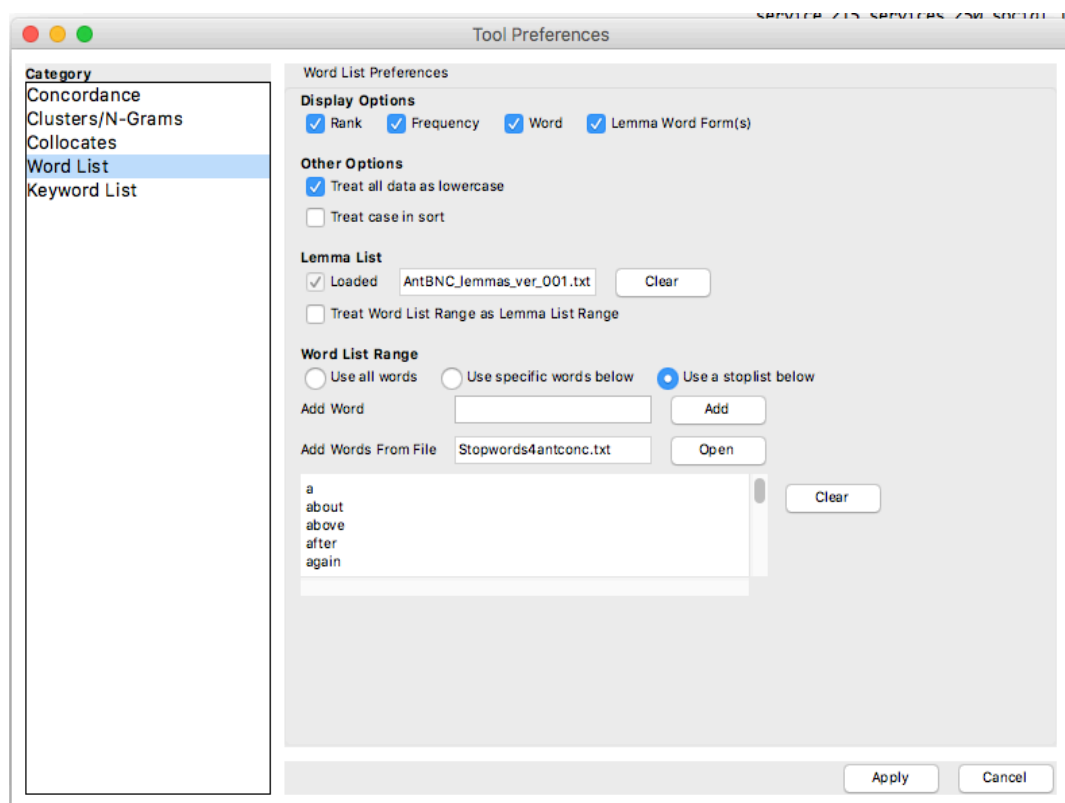


Figure 12. Lemma list from the BNC.

To avoid confusion and focus on the main words, it is essential to use a stoplist. In Cantos Gómez's (2011: 148) terms, a stoplist is "a filter module that takes out certain commonly occurring words based on the hypothesis that they appear frequently in all texts or corpora and that their appearance contributes to nothing, or very little, to explaining the content or topic of a text or corpora". In other words, it is a list of *stopwords*, i.e. words stripped of lexical meaning naturally occurring in language. The most common ones are prepositions, articles, pronouns and determiners. Thus, an ad hoc plain text file was created containing the most common words in English and then loaded into the software (see figure 12).

- **Keyword List:** This tool shows words that are unusually frequent in the corpus as compared with the words in a reference corpus, after creating a Word List. This tool enabled us to know the topics discussed in the manifestos. The Keyword List function helped us to identify recurrent words in the corpus. The wordlist from the British National Corpus was used as a reference corpus. The BNC wordlist is also

provided by the AntLab. It has 337,596 word types and 90,350,013 word tokens<sup>11</sup>. The keyword search was first carried out with the ten documents making up the corpus in order to select the main areas under study and then with each of the manifestos with a view to identifying the main topics of each campaign. Figure 13 shows some of the main combinations of keywords in the whole corpus as compared with the BNC. The results (see table 7) show rank, frequency and keyness.

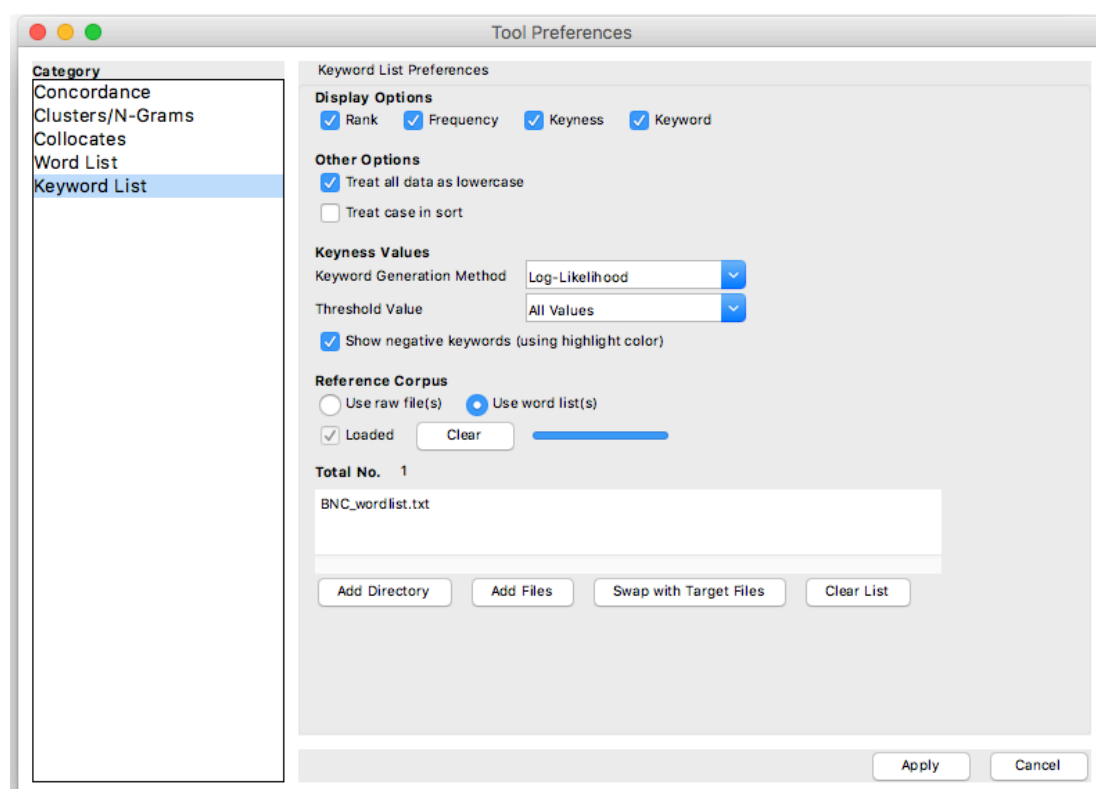


Figure 13. Screenshot of the Tool Preferences menu for a Keyword List.

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/>

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Keyness</b>	<b>Lemma</b>
1	662	760338.786	government
2	6	725882.345	social-service
4	481	552451.595	non-conservative
5	436	500766.934	work-top
6	415	476647.426	public-service
8	335	384763.585	sub-family
10	322	369832.461	Tax-relief
15	291	334227.472	Super-power
77	101	116003.349	Pro-european

Table 7. Selection of relevant lemmas related to different topics in the corpus.

- Concordance Plot and File View: The concordance Plot displays 25 words appearing to the left and 25 words appearing to the right of the word selected, while File View shows it in a larger context.
- Concordance: This tool shows search results in a KWIC (KeyWord in Context) format. It was used to search for particular words in order to identify usage patterns. The node, i.e. the word which is being looked up, is presented in the central section of the software interface with context, i.e. the surrounding words, on either side. Word Clusters may reveal collocation patterns. For example, when we used the Concordance Tool with the word ‘recovery’ in the 2010 section, we spotted the

expression “kill the recovery” (see figure 14). Besides, the Concordance Plot Tool showed, in barcode format, the position of the search result in the text, which can be useful to identify the section where the word is.

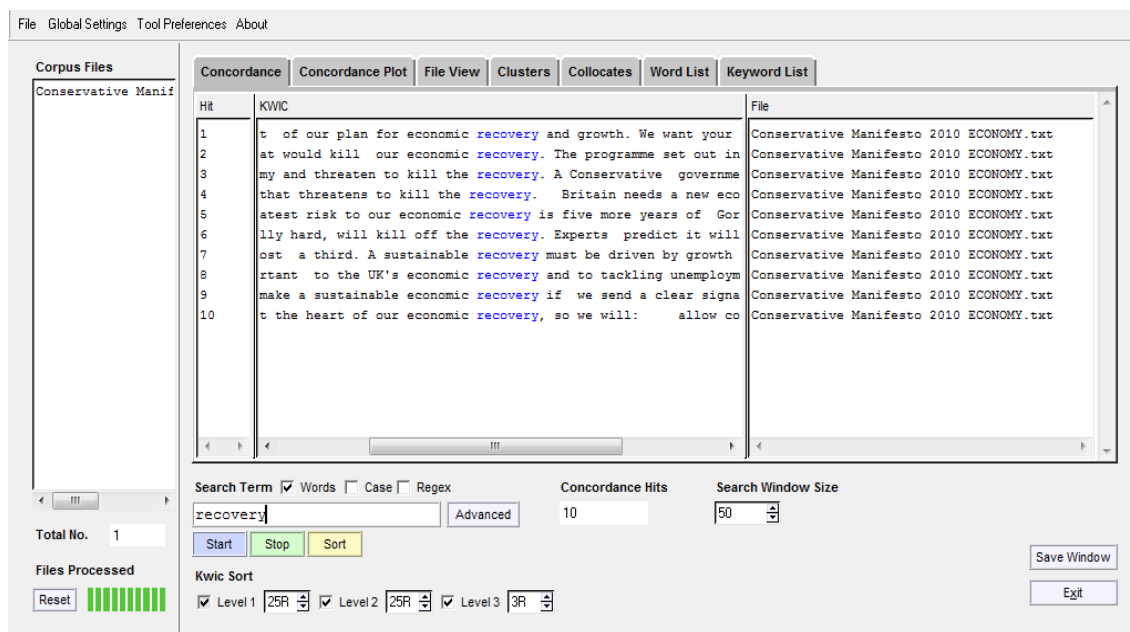


Figure 14. Example of KWIC with the term ‘recovery’.

- Collocates: this tool shows the collocates of a search term.
- Clusters and N-Grams: The Clusters tool shows clusters according to search specifications (figure 15). The N-Grams tool scans the whole corpus for clusters, allowing the researcher to find common expressions in a corpus.

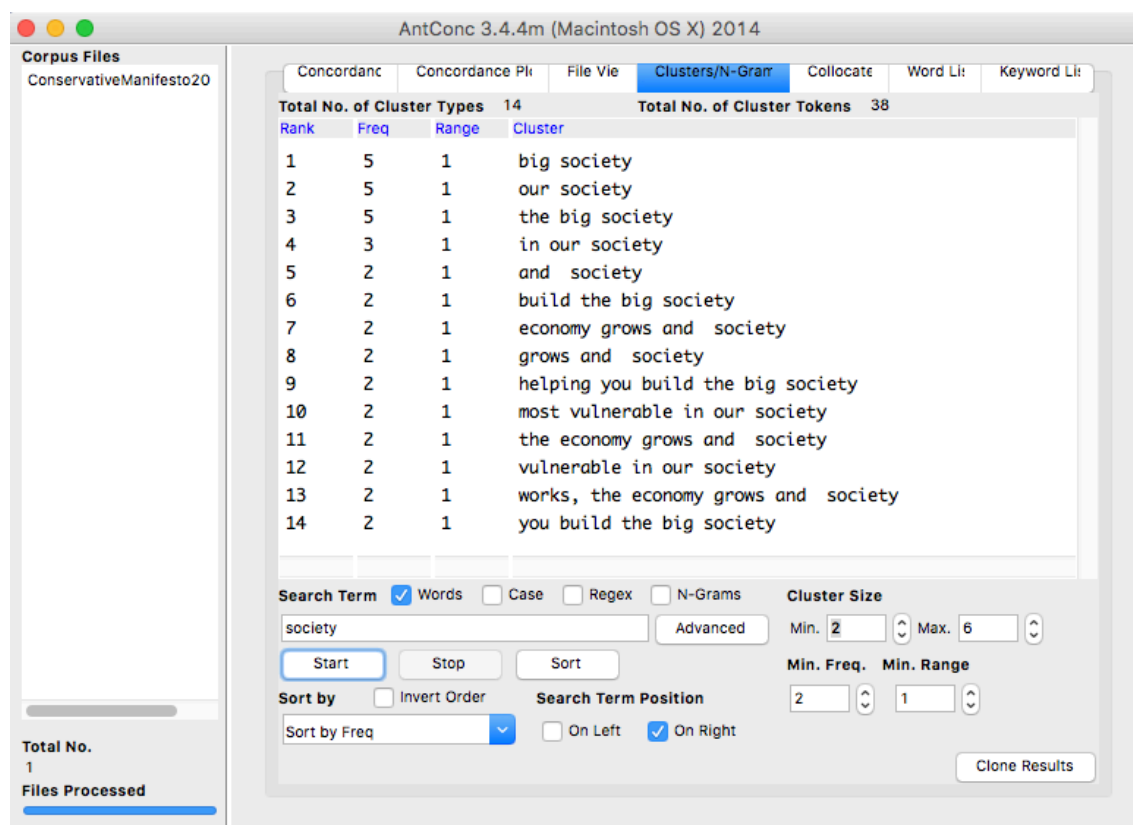


Figure 15. Example of Clusters/ N-Gram function with 'society' in the 2015 manifesto.

In this section, we have described the most important tools from the software package used in the present research. In 2.2.2. below we will offer a description of other materials needed for this study.

## 2.2.2. Dictionary tools

In the application of the MIPVU procedure, dictionaries are necessary to determine the contextual or basic meaning of words. Steen et al. (2010) strongly advocate for the use of dictionaries. Deignan (2015) claims that corpus-based learner dictionaries provide the basic meaning of words learners need to know along with typical collocates and patterns. In this study we used the online version of the corpus-based Macmillan Dictionary, available at <http://www.macmillandictionary.com>. It is regularly updated and includes a thesaurus. Following Krennmayr (2008: 101), it is a suitable tool for identifying metaphors:

MacmillanDictionary.com also offers unique treatment of metaphor, showing how many ordinary familiar words and phrases have metaphorical meanings, although we do not usually realise this when we use them.<sup>12</sup>

Occasionally the decision about whether a lexical unit is metaphorical could not be made only by consulting the Macmillan dictionary. In those cases, we consulted the online Oxford English dictionary, available at <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com>.

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<sup>12</sup> <http://www.macmillandictionary.com/about.html>

## 2.3. PROCEDURE

### 2.3.1. Selection of topics

Our corpus-based analysis draws on Corpus Analysis, Cognitive Linguistics and CDA. The corpus techniques employed intend to minimise the amount of hand-search needed and empirically support our findings.

Our analysis was carried out in 3 stages:

1. Corpus design.
2. Metaphor identification.
3. Analysis of the role of metaphor.

#### *1. Corpus design*

##### *a. Download and conversion of the manifestos*

The manifestos were downloaded in .pdf format from the websites mentioned above. Then, they were converted into .txt, so that the relevant parts for the study could be identified and selected, thus generating a corpus which would then be processed by Antconc. In the conversion to .txt format, all the documents were stripped of any type of numerical data other than page numbers, dates and economic figures. For example, in the main document of the 2010 manifesto, the apostrophe sign (‘) was translated as “x92”, which was corrected in the revision. The process was carried out using AntFile Converter, 1.2.0 for Mac OS X.

### *b. Download of the cartoons*

The cartoons concerned with the 1997, 2001, 2005, and 2010 general elections were retrieved from the British Cartoon Archive<sup>13</sup>, using the Advanced Search function available on the web which allows for the organisation of contents according to date of publication, topic, person depicted, author and newspaper. The cartoons were selected according to the tags available in the Advanced Search function on the British Cartoon Archive. The cartoons dealing with the 2015 general election were retrieved from *The Times*' and *The Daily Telegraph*'s websites. They were filed in a word document (see Appendix 2) that shows the author, newspaper, publication date and target.

### *c. Selection of topics*

Once the corpus was downloaded and converted into an extension readable for Antconc, the next step was to create a Word list. The Word List tool in Antconc was used to identify the most common words in each of the texts. The most common ones are all *delexical* or function words (i.e. determiners, prepositions and conjunctions such as 'the', 'to', 'and', 'of', 'we', 'will' 'a', 'in', 'for', and 'our' to mention the top ten lexical items). Thus, a stoplist was applied.

The Word List tool search was used to obtain a list of words arranged according to frequency. This allowed for the identification of the more frequent words in the corpus as a whole and in each of the manifestos, and thus the possible topics dealt with.

The Keyword List function allowed us to spot the recurrent words in the corpus.

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<sup>13</sup> <https://www.cartoons.ac.uk/>



Despite the sharp differences in the layout, a number of issues discussed in all Conservative manifestos were identified as topics worth studying:

- **Leadership:** this is concerned with the Conservatives' image and the way their leaders were perceived by the press.
- **Economic issues:** downturns (from the early 1990s crisis to the current recession); the situation of the British currency as a result of joining the euro or the crisis; unemployment, and the macroeconomic situation of the country – budget, investments and retirement.
- **Domestic issues:** NHS and education reforms, crime, family and the 'Big Society'. Some sections are concerned with Scotland's situation and potential changes in the UK's political system.
- **British National Interest:** under this label, we find references to the global positioning of the UK and the relationship between the UK and the EU, a critical and controversial element of the party's policies since Thatcher's days.

### 2.3.2. Metaphor identification

This stage of the procedure is concerned with the detection of metaphorically used items in the manifestos. Thus, it deals with metaphoricity at a linguistic level.

#### 2.3.2.1. Analysis of the manifestos

##### 2.3.2.1.1. Identification of metaphorically used lexical items

After the Word list was generated through the stoplist and exported into .txt format (see figure 16), we searched for metaphorically used words through the concordance tool in Antconc. To avoid metaphor overcount, it was necessary to narrow the selection criteria by leaving out everyday language ontological metaphors (e.g. *We are all in this together*), phrasal verbs (e.g. *build up a fortune*) and idioms.

In case of doubt, we identified the instantiations of metaphors using the File View tools within Antconc.

#Word Types: 5452  
#Word Tokens: 74147

1	906	people	people	906					
2	662	sub-government	government	638	governments	24			
3	632	social-service	service	215	services	250			
		social	167						
4	600	new-town	new	600					
5	481	non-conservative	conservative		372	conservatives			
	109								
6	436	work-top	top	55	tops	1	work	380	
7	424	support	support	364	supported	16	supporting		
	40	supports	4						
8	421	britain	britain	421					
9	415	public-service	public	415					
10	365	sunday-school	school	148	schools	217			
11	345	need	need	234	needed	26	needing	2	needs
	83								
12	339	labour	labour	339					
13	335	sub-family	families	188	family	147			
14	327	ensure	ensure	271	ensured	7	ensures		
	4	ensuring	45						
15	322	help-line	help	322					
16	322	tax-relief	relief	8	reliefs	3	tax	311	
17	312	tailor-makemake	306	tailor	6				
18	307	non-local	local	307					
19	303	step-child	child	85	children	218			
20	303	take	take	194	taken	49	takes	14	taking
	10	took							36
21	295	give-away	give	295					
22	291	super-powerpower	196	powers	95				
23	274	member-country	countries	72	country	202			
24	272	year-old	old	35	olds	21	year	216	
25	271	non-national	national	269	nationals	2			
26	269	sub-community	communities	159	community	110			
27	258	continue	continue	222	continued	3	continues		
	11	continuing	22						
28	251	provide	provide	165	provided	20	provides		
	21	providing	45						
29	242	want	want	227	wanted	1	wanting	5	wants
	9								
30	239	world-view	view	5	views	3	world	231	
31	234	year	years	234					
32	233	care	care	222	cared	2	cares	2	caring
									7
33	232	sub-plan	plan	126	plans	106			
34	227	two-time	time	187	times	40			
35	226	business	business	125	businesses	101			
36	223	world-system	system	215	systems	8			
37	217	sub-sector	sector	208	sectors	9			
38	211	re-introduce	introduce	146	introduced	39			
		introducing	26						
39	209	stay-at-home	home	123	homes	86			
40	208	increase	increase	122	increased	32	increases		
	22	increasing	32						
41	207	re-live	live	41	lived	3	lives	95	living
	68								
42	201	also-ran	also	201					
43	201	health	health	201					

Figure 16. First page of the Wordlist Search.

It is convenient to state clearly what counts as a metaphor in the context of our analysis. Syntactically and morphologically speaking, as noticed by Charteris-Black (2014: 176), metaphors are normally expressed by phrases or collocations in political rhetoric. Other times they underlie single words. For this study, words, as the basic unit of meaning, will be regarded as the stereotypical lexical items which can convey metaphorical meaning, although others, such as multi-word expressions and phrasal verbs, were also taken into account.

According to the MIPVU guidelines, multi-word expressions are retrieved from the list available on the British National Corpus website<sup>14</sup> and analysed as single lexical units. Regarding phrasal verbs, the MIPVU practice, contrary to that of the BNC, is followed. This is justified by Steen et al. (2010: 28) in the following terms:

You should therefore treat all phrasal verbs as single lexical units: their individual parts do not require independent analysis for potential metaphorical meaning. The phrasal verb as a whole, however, can still be used metaphorically.

In the MIP procedure metaphoricity is based on semantic tension or incongruity within the context of the text being analysed. The first step is to establish the basic meaning of the lexical units in the text, as described in the third stage of MIP (Pragglejaz Group, 2007: 3):

- a) For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, i.e. if it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.
- b) For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be:
  - more concrete; what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, and taste;

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<sup>14</sup> [http://phrasesinenglish.org/fused\\_n\\_mwu.html#mwu](http://phrasesinenglish.org/fused_n_mwu.html#mwu). Last visited on 18 February 2018.

- related to bodily action;
  - more precise (as opposed to vague);
  - historically older. Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.
- c) if the lexical unit has a more basic current/contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.

Lexical units are marked as metaphorical when the semantic tension created between its contextual meaning in which the unit is used and its basic meaning (identified according to the criteria above) can be explained in terms of cross-domain mapping.

As above mentioned, in the MIP procedure metaphoricity is established on the basis of context. The concordance tool allowed us to identify the metaphorically used items, to which the selected lemmas were allotted.

This procedure is best illustrated through the word ‘recovery’ in the foreword of the 2010 manifesto.

Our belief in responsibility with public finances is the starting point of our **plan for economic recovery and growth**. We want your consent for a programme of public spending control that will deal with Labour's debt crisis and stop the Labour jobs tax that would kill our economic recovery.

(Conservative Manifesto 2010, p. 6, bolds in original)

The term, together with its premodifier *economic*, refers to the attempt made by a country to overcome an economic crisis. The Macmillan dictionary provides the following meanings and information for *recovery*<sup>15</sup>.

1)[SINGULAR/UNCOUNTABLE] the process of becoming fit and healthy again after an illness or injury

***make a recovery:***

*The doctors expect Josie to make a full and speedy recovery.*  
***recovery from:***

*his recovery from alcoholism*

2)[SINGULAR/UNCOUNTABLE] the process of returning to normal activity after a period of slow activity

*There were still no real signs of an economic recovery.*

3) [UNCOUNTABLE] the act of getting something again that was lost, stolen, or owed

***recovery of:***

*the recovery of stolen property*

*Their objective is the recovery of land lost in previous wars.*

From the information provided by the dictionary it seems clear that:

1. The meaning encoded in the manifesto is the second meaning of ‘recovery’ in the dictionary, which is “the process of returning to normal activity after a period of slow activity”.
2. The meaning for ‘recovery’ shown in (1) above meets the criteria established by stage 3b of MIP above: it certainly makes reference to a more concrete reality, easier to grasp, historically older and is related to bodily action.

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<sup>15</sup> <http://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/recovery>

The meaning seems to be a metaphoric extension of (1), so that 'recovery' should be marked as a metaphorically used word.

The word 'protect' and its different inflections are clearly reminiscent of war, although the entries from the Macmillan online dictionary do not confirm it, since the first meaning is too vague.

(1) to keep someone or something safe from harm, injury, damage, or loss

*Databases are generally protected by copyright.*

*Are you prepared to protect yourself in case of attack?*

***protect someone/something from something:***

*The hat only partially protected his face from the sun.*

***protect someone/something against something:***

*This warm jacket will help to protect you against the cold.*

(2) if an insurance policy protects you, it will pay money to you or your relatives if particular bad things happen

***protect against:***

*Many of the homes weren't protected against flood damage.*

(3) ECONOMICS to help industries in your country by putting taxes on goods from other countries

The second meaning is related to insurance policies, which provide an amount of money for a client in case of an unfortunate contingency happening. The third meaning refers

to government measures aimed at imposing taxes to products which are redundant in a country but come from a foreign state, with the purpose of maintaining local activity.

We may have problems in determining that the sense provided in (1) is the primary meaning, since meanings (2) and (3) are more concrete and equally spread. Following Krennmayr's (2008) indications, we used an etymological dictionary, the Oxford English Dictionary (OED). The OED<sup>16</sup> provided the following information about 'protect':

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**Origin**

Late Middle English: from Latin *protect-* 'covered in front', from the verb *protegere*, from *pro-* 'in front' + *tegere* 'to cover'.

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Figure 17. Origin of 'protect' according to the OED.

This confirms that the term has a military origin, which has been extended to everyday language ('taking measures to avoid harm'). Therefore meanings (2) and (3) are metaphorical. (2) is metaphorical because 'protect' is used in the sense of giving money. (3) is metaphorical because it needs the identification of a threat or enemy.

Terms like 'protect', 'defend' and their inflections showed a high occurrence in our corpus. The pervasiveness of such terms led us to make research decisions about the criteria to be followed before analysing the actual examples in the corpus. For example, in the 2015 section, 17 out of 75 occurrences of 'protect' and 6 out of 25 occurrences of 'defend' were marked as metaphorical.

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<sup>16</sup> <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/protect>



#### 2.3.2.1.2. Identification of Conceptual Metaphors

Once the linguistic metaphors were identified, the next stage in the analysis was the identification of upper levels of abstraction in the form of conceptual metaphors.

In order to identify conceptual metaphors in the corpus, each linguistic metaphor was ascribed to a source domain, following Kövecses' (2010:18–23) taxonomy:

1. The human body
2. Health and illness
3. Animals
4. Plants
5. Buildings and construction
6. Machines and tools
7. Games and sport
8. Money and economic transactions
9. Cooking and food
10. Heat and cold
11. Light and darkness
12. Forces
13. Movement and direction

The source domains WAR AND CONFLICT, RELIGION AND ETHICS and CREATION AND DESTRUCTION were added, since they have proved to be pervasive in political discourse. If not applicable, metaphorically used lexical units were tagged as 'OTHER'.

At this stage of the procedure, the third tool in AntConc, the Concordance Tool, was used to search for terms in a KeyWord in Context (KWIC) format in order to identify usage patterns. As an example, a tentative allocation of source domain is presented below: the left column shows examples of words which may trigger a metaphor and were found in the 2010 section. The right column shows the source domain, in capital letters, to which the potential metaphor was allotted to.

WORDS	SOURCE DOMAIN
<i>growth, recovery</i>	HEALTH AND ILLNESS
<i>believe</i>	RELIGION AND ETHICS
<i>deliver</i>	MONEY AND ECONOMIC TRANSACTIONS
<i>build, founded</i>	BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION
<i>bubble</i>	OTHER
<i>burden, step</i>	MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION
<i>protect, safeguard</i>	WAR AND CONFLICT
<i>create, kill</i>	CREATION AND DESTRUCTION
<i>competition, rivals</i>	GAMES AND SPORT

Figure 18. Allocation of lexical items to source domains.

An Excel document shows the section, lemma, number of occurrences and number of metaphorically used instantiations, target, source domain, conceptual metaphor instantiated and context in which they occurred together with annotations (see Appendix 1). Appendix 3 comprises the main linguistic realisations and metaphors found in the manifestos according to source domains and target.

#### *2.3.2.2. Metaphor identification in the cartoon corpus*

The analysis of the cartoon corpus was carried out in three steps, following Sorm and Steen's (2013) procedure:

1. Formal analysis of the cartoon in search for patterns in composition and alignment, people depicted, topic, etc...

2. Identification of conceptual metaphors

At this stage, we formulated the conceptual metaphors profiled by the cartoons, together with their source domains. We looked at the interplay between metaphors and metonymies, which provided the basis for the third stage.

3. Metaphor interpretation

In the last stage of the cartoon analysis we identified the cartoonists' editorial stance and subsequently interpreted the cartoon from the perspective of CMA and the scenario approach, as seen in 2.3.3. below.

### **2.3.3. The role of metaphor**

This is the last stage of our procedure, carried out in both the linguistic and the cartoon corpus. As Cameron (2010: 160) remarks, “metaphor identification and analysis need to be combined with analysis of discourse activity”. After the identification of the metaphor and the interpretation of its meaning, the next stage in the analysis basically involves the identification of the purpose and effect the author of the manifesto/ cartoon may obtain from the intended audience. The ideological and rhetorical motivation of the authors were taken into account. Contextual elements such as the party’s history, cultural and historical events may account for the ideological motivation of metaphor.

At this stage, we also examined the shifts in the metaphorical representation of different issues on the part of the Conservative Party, which reflect different standpoints.

### 3. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

#### 3.1. CONCEPTUALISATION OF CONSERVATIVE LEADERSHIP

The history of the British Conservative Party is so entwined with that of the United Kingdom of Great Britain that it is, perhaps, the party that has most significantly shaped the current features of the UK as we know it today. Originated from a group known as the Tories in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and often referred to as the ‘Tory Party’, some of the landmarks of British history have taken place while a Conservative Prime Minister (henceforth PM) was in power. Amongst its hallmarks, the Slavery Abolition Act in 1833, the development of an imperialist foreign affairs policy during Queen Victoria’s reign (1837-1901), which made the British Empire the most influential state in the world, and the victory in World War II can be highlighted, and names such as William Pitt *the Younger* (1783-1801/1804-1806), Robert Peel (1834-1835/1841-1846), Benjamin Disraeli (1868/1874-1880), and in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Winston Churchill (1940-1945 /1951-1955) and Margaret Thatcher (1979-1990) will always remain amongst the most prominent political figures in history.

Since the first data in my research corpus refer to Thatcher’s successor, John Major, who intended to follow Thatcher’s policies, it is necessary to define what is known as Thatcherism. Despite controversy generated among senior Conservatives at the time, Thatcherite positions were shown to revolve around three political ideas: discipline, free enterprise and statecraft (Crewe and Searing, 1988). Discipline emphasises reliance on individual’s potential and responsibility, which results in a “law and order” approach. At the same time, it is connected with free enterprise, which is achieved through the reduction of government intervention and public expenditure. The third idea, statecraft, meant the empowering of government over institutions like trade unions and national industries, which, according to Thatcherism, were to blame for the “winter of discontent”. Statecraft was partially put forward through what came to be known as monetarism, targeting inflation<sup>17</sup>, tackling trade unions and privatisation policies.

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<sup>17</sup> <https://www.economicshelp.org/blog/glossary/thatcher-economic-policies/>

This section is concerned with the communication and conceptualisation of Conservative political leadership in the Conservative manifestos and the editorial cartoons of the British Conservative press. The metaphorically used lexical units in the manifestos from 1997 to 2015 will be analysed in order to find how they work as persuasive devices which enable the party to show a position of leadership that might win a larger audience. More specifically, we will focus on a set of lexical items which help illustrate the rhetorical strategy of the party at the moment of each general election.

In this section 63 cartoons retrieved from the British newspapers *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Times* will be discussed. They target Conservative leadership issues in the five-month periods preceding and following the general elections held between 1997 and 2015.

The target of the cartoons is usually the position of the party leader (1) at a specific time in the general election campaign or on the day of the manifesto launch, or (2) in relation with previous stages of the party.

### **3.1.1. The 1997 section**

#### *3.1.1.1. Conceptualisation of leadership in the 1997 section of the manifesto corpus*

Most of the metaphors analysed here appear in the foreword section. Most of the metaphors analysed here appear in the foreword section. 48 different lexical units have been found to be metaphorically used. 16 belong to MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION, 6 come from WAR AND CONFLICT and GAMES AND SPORT, and 5 belong to BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION.

The 1997 general election was the last in which John Major, Thatcher's successor, ran for premiership, after winning the 1992 general election with a majority, which would be the last victory until the 2015 general election. During the 1992-1997 tenure, the Conservative Party faced numerous problems, such as the Black Wednesday, when the pound sterling crashed out of the European Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) in September 1992 and started Conservative feud over the European Union. The Cabinet also dealt with the 'sleaze', which resulted in the resignation of cabinet members over accusations of improper behaviour<sup>18</sup>.

As seen in previous sections, the main issue of the 1997 campaign was the impending introduction of the European single currency. However, the effect of the party division over Europe and the economic turmoil of 1992 damaged the Conservative reputation for sound economic management. This issue therefore became a major one in the 1997 manifesto.

With opinion polls showing a steep decline in the number of potential voters, the party relied on a rhetorical strategy to mobilise their core, as seen in 1). In his study of Thatcher's speeches in the Party Conferences while she was the leader, Charteris-Black (2005), claims that her rhetoric was characterised by the use of metaphors which served evaluation purposes that allowed for contrast between Conservatives and their opponents. This effect was reinforced by metaphors which enhanced the moral and ethical basis of her policies. This is reflected in one of the slogans of the campaign, which also appeared in the manifesto, as shown in (1) and (2).

(1) You can only be sure with the Conservatives.

Our *Vision* for Britain:

(2) In 20 years, privatisation has gone from the *dream of a few Conservative visionaries* to the big idea which is transforming decaying public sector industries in almost every country in the world.

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<sup>18</sup> [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/politics/vote\\_2005/basics/4393323.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/vote_2005/basics/4393323.stm)

The intended rightfulness of Conservative policies is also conveyed by terms from the source domain of RELIGION AND ETHICS, and occasionally emphasised by MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION metaphors to show contrast with political opponents, who are negatively evaluated, as in (3):

- (3) They can elect to *continue down the road* of success and achievement. An opportunity that has been hard won by the efforts and *sacrifices* of the British people. An opportunity that has only come about because successive Conservative governments have been determined to face up to the long term problems facing Britain, and take the *tough steps* needed to arrest our slow decline.

One of the main elements in the party's rhetoric was based on highlighting the former government's actions through the metaphor POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION. According to Conservative views, the destination was success and achievement – two terms closely related to economics and individualism, as we will see in the economic section. The notions of movement and competition are occasionally conveyed through economic terminology, as in (4) and (5), in line with the remarks of Charteris-Black (2005), Bale (2011) and Fairclough (2001) on the language of Thatcherism.

- (4) That choice - between *stagnation* and *dynamism* - is the choice which faces Britain at this election. It is a stark choice between the British way - of trusting people and unleashing enterprise - and the failing social model, practiced on the continent, which the Labour Party wants to impose on us here under the guise of stakeholding.



- (5) Now it would be the worst possible moment to abandon the *pathway* to prosperity on which we are set.

The focus on individualism which characterised Thatcher's liberalism is represented in the 1997 manifesto. Lexical units derived from 'encourage' are pervasive in the 1997 manifesto, as reflected in examples (6–8).

- (6) At the same time as protecting the state pension, our *encouragement* of private pensions is already transforming the living standards of pensioners. The average net income of pensioners has risen by 60% since 1979. This has been achieved by our *encouragement* of saving for retirement.

- (7) Schools are stronger and more effective where head-teachers and governors can shape their own distinctive character. Sometimes that means developing a speciality in some subjects. Sometimes it means selecting children by their aptitudes: where parents want this we should not *stand in their way*. Special abilities should be recognised and *encouraged*.

- (8) In addition, we are *encouraging* higher standards and more cost-effective provision of local services. Local authorities can enable things to happen rather than necessarily running them themselves. They must look after the interests of users of their services - and that is often best done by being a purchaser, not an employer.

Of the 46 occurrences of the term 'encourage' in the Conservative manifesto, 23 were marked as metaphorical, meaning "adopting the necessary political measures to attain a

political objective”. The pervasiveness of the metaphorical term suggests that it was not only used for evaluative purposes, but also works as the expression of Conservative standpoints.

Lexical units from ‘provide’ are also relevant in the 1997 Conservative manifesto. Only 2 out of 40 hits provided by Antconc were regarded as metaphorical. They profile the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A BUSINESS. Its pervasiveness also reflects Thatcher’s emphasis on monetarism, and therefore on individualism:

- (9) A system of proportional representation would be more likely to produce unstable, coalition governments that are unable to *provide effective leadership* - with crucial decisions being dependent on compromise deals hammered out behind closed doors.

The other source domains such as the one of creation and destruction metaphors are also present. For example, ‘create’ is metaphorically used 15 times, activating the metaphor GOOD GOVERNANCE IS CREATION, which is confronted with LABOUR POLICIES ARE DISASTERS.

- (10) We will continue to *create* new opportunities for more people to participate. / We will *create* more flexibility for people who save in personal pension plans to continue investing in those schemes if they subsequently move to jobs with company pension schemes.

- (11) To risk this alternative would be a *disaster* for our country.

In order to convey a sense of strong leadership, the Conservative Party relied upon the source domain of MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION, which enabled them to highlight the achievements of the previous governments through the conceptual metaphor POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION. This is occasionally complemented by RELIGION metaphors, BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION metaphors, and CREATION AND DESTRUCTION metaphors.

The next table presents the metaphorical conceptualisation of leadership in the 1997 manifesto.

SOURCE DOMAIN	METAPHOR	LEXICAL UNIT
MOVEMENT & DIRECTION	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	<i>forward</i> (12), <i>reach</i> (4), <i>ahead</i> (3), <i>way</i> (3)
WAR & CONFLICT	POLITICS IS CONFLICT / ECONOMY IS CONFLICT	<i>secure</i> (9), <i>fight</i> (2), <i>protect</i> (2), <i>revolution</i> (2)
RELIGION & ETHICS	IDEAS ARE RELIGIOUS PRECEPTS	<i>vision</i> (12), <i>believe</i> (5), <i>dream</i> (4), <i>values</i> (1)
BUILDINGS & CONSTRUCTION	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	<i>build</i> (7), <i>strength</i> (2), <i>stability</i> (1)

Table 8. Metaphorical conceptualisation of leadership in the 1997 section of the manifesto corpus.

### 3.1.1.2. Conceptualisation of leadership in the 1997 section of the cartoon corpus

Political leadership is the target of 17 cartoons in the 1997 section of the cartoon corpus.

The ambiguity of the Conservative leaders over European integration drew criticism from the British press. Cartoonists relied on the source domain of MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION in 6 out of the 17 cartoons analysed in this section. As illustrated by Garland (figure 19), Major is hanging from a bricked wall, which hints at a dangerous fall as there is no ground. Across Major's legs we see the words "WAIT AND SEE" in uppercase white letters. Major seems to be crawling on the wall to spy on a neighbour, but his legs are not exerting any force, which indicates his inability to move. The image triggers the metaphor POLITICAL INABILITY IS LACK OF CONTROL OVER

MOVEMENT. The ‘wait and see’<sup>19</sup> approach was adopted by the party leaders with a view to avoiding internal dissension on controversial issues such as European integration, particularly between pro-European and Eurosceptic MPs, in the race for the general election, when most opinion polls predicted Labour’s victory. Garland seems to indicate not only the uselessness of such an approach, but also the negative effects of Major’s failure.



Figure 19. Garland’s cartoon about Major’s political attitudes. *The Daily Telegraph*, 17 April 1997.

The same metaphor highlighting Major’s inaction underlies the cartoon shown in figure 20, which looks like the poster advertising the film *The English Patient* (figure 21), released in 1996. Both the poster and cartoon depict a scene in which a man is looking at the landscape, with his hands in his pockets, in a thoughtful attitude. In the cartoon, Ralph Fiennes – the leading actor – is substituted by Major. The title of the movie is complemented by “(WINNER IN 1992)”, verbally signalling the target, namely the strategy used by Major’s team to avoid dissension and have a run for the next general election. The issue of the campaign is cued by the phrase “NOW SHOWING ACROSS THE COUNTRY”. The metaphor POLITICAL INACTIVITY IS LACK OF PHYSICAL

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<sup>19</sup> <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/special/politics97/news/06/0603/major.shtml>. Major soon abandoned the ‘wait and see’ approach after losing the 1997 general election.

MOVEMENT relies on the metonymy GESTURE FOR ATTITUDE (his hands in his pockets standing for his thoughtful attitude) and interplays with the film title, in which the word ‘patient’ maps the qualities of forbearance, stoicism and tolerance on the one hand, and suffering and victimization on the other, as the different meanings of the entry ‘patience’ reveal<sup>20</sup>.



Figure 20. Garland's cartoon about the 1997 campaign. *The Daily Telegraph*, 19 March 1997.



Figure 21. Original poster of *The English Patient* (1996).

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<sup>20</sup> <http://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/patience>.

A similar conceptualisation of Major's policies is provided by Brookes in *The Times* through the source domain of ANIMALS (2 cartoons), which allows mapping features which are idiosyncratic of animals onto people (Forceville and Urios-Aparisi, 2009: 13). In one of his famous *Nature Notes* series, in which he depicts prominent political figures as animals, he shows Major as a recently run-over hedgehog (figure 22). There are tyre marks on the road and on the animal's back. Below the picture there is a description of the typical behaviour of a hedgehog: "If this sad creature persists in its middle-of-the-road position it can expect to be kohled in large numbers". Again, the feature mapped from source to target (i.e. Major) is his inaction, the middle-of-the-road position activating the metaphor POLITICAL FAILURE IS A ROADKILL. The consequences of such inaction may be to lose the general election or the European negotiations, which is translated within the road scenario into being run over by the European Union car, metonymically represented by the German chancellor as the most outstanding politician of the Union. This is verbally cued by the pun "to be Kohled", paving the way for a number of entailments:

- JOHN MAJOR IS A HEDGEHOG
- HELMUT KOHL IS A VEHICLE
- POLITICAL FAILURE DUE TO INACTION IS BEING RUN OVER.

Brookes provides a dysphemistic portrayal of Major's political figure. As Crespo-Fernández (2015) suggests, ANIMAL metaphors are suitable for capturing the most objectionable and undesirable characteristics of human beings, which makes them particularly effective for dysphemistic purposes. This is particularly true for small mammals such as hedgehogs, native to mainland Britain, whose behaviour is mapped onto the British PM. Thus, weakness and inaction are mapped onto Major, due to hedgehog's ability to hibernate and nocturnal life habits, which resulted in roadkill problems on British roads. The author forecasts a negative outcome of the negotiations affecting British interests.



Figure 22. Brookes portraying Major as a hedgehog. *The Times*, 18 January 1997.

In the next cartoon (figure 23), the leadership contest after the 1997 general election is visually represented as an experiment scenario in a laboratory where apes need to solve a problem using cubes. Garland depicts prominent Conservative politicians as apes taking part in an experiment. Again, the metaphor HUMANS (POLITICIANS) ARE ANIMALS expresses dysphemism. In the experiment, the apes are required to catch a banana, which in the context of the political campaign profiles the metaphor WINNING THE ELECTION IS A REWARD. The characters in the cartoon are Clarke (Lord Chancellor at the time), on the left side, and Hague, the candidate, on the right. Both are depicted as apes which need to solve problems in order to eat the banana. Clarke's cubes are smaller, and when they are piled up they form the word "UNITY", which indicates Clarke's stance on the matter of political leadership. Hague's only cube, which reads "NO SINGLE CURRENCY", activates the metaphor POLICIES ARE TOOLS. The cartoonist's criticism of Hague's main proposal to regain power seems clear, despite the fact the NO SINGLE CURRENCY cube is larger than Clarke's ones. The cartoon thus shows two outstanding politicians in the party with two unsuccessful proposals to regain office: Clarke can't catch the banana because once the boxes are put together, he cannot mount on them to reach the reward, so that he will not succeed in winning the general election. Hague's NO SINGLE CURRENCY box is placed in an unfavourable position, and he is too short to reach the banana, so that he will not succeed, either.

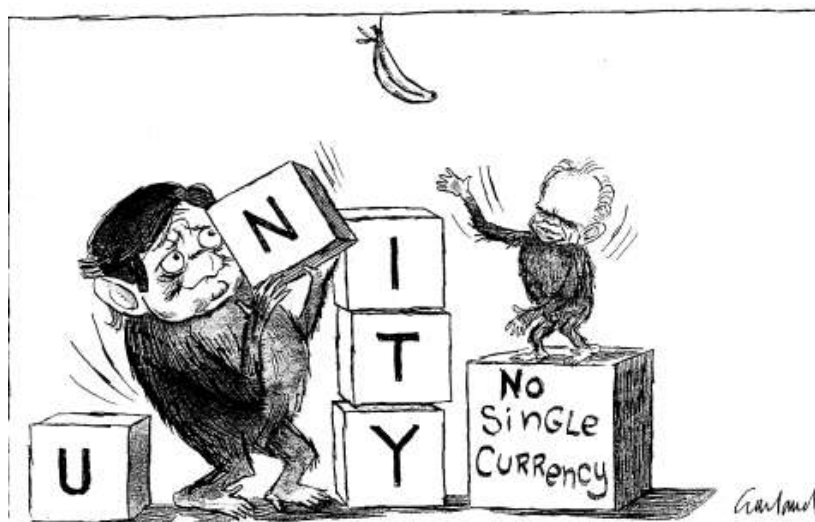


Figure 23. Garland's cartoon on the party's leadership. *The Daily Telegraph*, 18 June 1997.

Another conceptualisation strategy used by cartoonists to illustrate the leadership contest in 1997 was the family scenario which appears in two cartoons. In this way cartoonists can depict the similarities between politicians, which trigger the conceptual metaphor POLITICAL ALLEGIANCE IS KINSHIP. As already noted, the relevance of Margaret Thatcher in British politics was also manifested in editorial cartoons. Soon after the Labour landslide victory, the Conservatives held a leadership contest in which William Hague was chosen, partially thanks to Thatcher's support. Thatcher is conceptualised as a mother who controls her offspring's movements. The cartoon shown in figure 24 portrays Thatcher as a mother rocking the cradle where her recently-born baby (Hague) is sleeping. The image renders the metaphor PROVIDING POLITICAL SUPPORT IS ROCKING A CRADLE. The baby in the cradle features Hague's distinctive boldness. On the bottom-right corner of the cartoon we can see a teddy bear on the floor, as if it had fallen off the cradle. The teddy bear wears Major's distinctive glasses, metonymically representing him and thus profiling the metaphor MAJOR IS A TOY. If a line is drawn from top-left to bottom-right, we see that Thatcher's political significance is cued by the conceptual metaphors IMPORTANCE IS UP and POLITICAL INFLUENCE IS PHYSICAL CONTROL OVER MOVEMENT.





Figure 24. Garland's cartoon about Hague being a Thatcherite. *The Daily Telegraph*, 20 June 1997.

There is a cartoon in this section which presents a less maternalistic image of Thatcher's influence. For example, Thatcher is characterised as Boudicca<sup>21</sup>, the Celtic leader of the Iceni and one of the foundational myths of Britain, who is on a car pulled by two horses and has a spear in her right hand (figure 25). This image is accompanied by the litote "THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE", which has a justifying intention, and the image of four Conservative leaders (Major, Rufkind, Clarke and Heseltine), characterised as foot soldiers who follow her. This is a visual instantiation of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS CONFLICT, presenting Thatcher, seven years after her resignation, as the actual leader of the Conservative Party. This representation of Thatcher as an ancient Celt queen is consistent with Charteris Black's (2014: 214–215) mythic purpose of metaphor. The sentence 'THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE' was frequently used during the Thatcher years to support the end of the struggle between political systems, meaning that only a market economy would work. Garland's cartoon was published the day the campaign started. His aim was to present Thatcher's policy as the model to be followed by the subsequent Conservative leaders, who stare at Thatcher, waiting for her instructions. Thatcher's portrayal, in combination with the conceptual metaphor IMPORTANCE IS UP, provides us with a powerful vision of the Conservatives, where the current leaders' role is diminished, whereas Thatcher's is highlighted.

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<sup>21</sup> Boudicca led a revolt against the Romans (60–61 AD) in and left the city of Londinium in ruins.  
<http://www.ancient.eu/Boudicca/>



Figure 25. Garland's cartoon about Thatcher's influence. *The Daily Telegraph*, 1 April 1997.

In two cartoons, published by *The Telegraph* and *The Times*, the same metaphor is implied, TRYING TO IMPLEMENT POLICIES IS FIXING A PHYSICAL OBJECT. The former cartoon (figure 26) was published in October 1997, after the leadership contest had been held (in June), and shows different sections of a broken vase, each resulting part having the face of a prominent Tory leader, thus generating a hybrid metaphor. The party is metaphorically represented by the vase, while the different parts are metonymically represented by the leaders.



Figure 26. Garland's cartoon about the state of the Conservative Party. *The Daily Telegraph*, 17 October 1997.

Cumming's cartoon (figure 27) features a workshop. In the middle of the scene we see a statue of Thatcher, imitating the *Venus of Milos*, a statue devoted to Aphrodite, the Greek goddess of love, desire and beauty. The statue has Thatcher's face, and the word "THATCHERISM" appears on her legs. Blair and Hague also appear in the image; Hague is trying to fix the statue with glue, an unusual, although quick way of doing it.

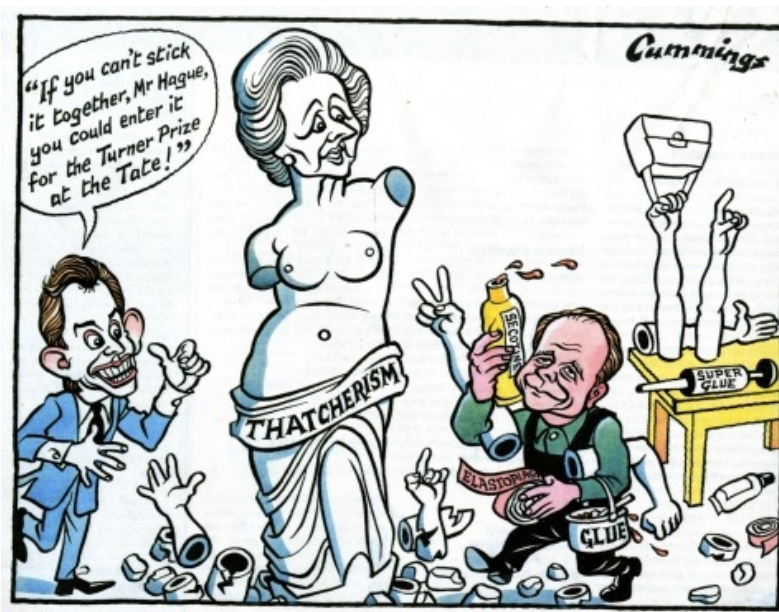


Figure 27. Cummings' cartoon about Thatcher's influence. *The Times*, 28 June 1997.

Sections 3.1.1.1. and 3.1.1.2. have revealed the main conceptualisation strategies used by the Conservative Party and the British press to represent Conservative leadership. While the 1997 manifesto features not only policies but also rhetorical strategies derived from Thatcherism, the cartoons hint at Major's inability to win the 1997 general election and the influence exerted by Thatcher on Major, his successor (Howard) and their rival, Blair.

### **3.1.2. The 2001-2005 section**

#### *3.1.2.1. Conceptualisation of leadership in the 2001-2005 section of the manifesto corpus*

After the 2001 general election defeat under Hague and the subsequent spell by Iain Duncan-Smith (2001-2003), the disagreement within the party resulted in his resignation and the arrival of Michael Howard for the 2005 general election. Being a senior member who had served under Thatcher and Major governments, Howard attacked the Labour government in economic, European<sup>22</sup> and domestic affairs. As Bale (2011: 219) claims:

The problem [...] was ideological: these Thatcherite views were deeply held by the leader and the majority of his parliamentary party, if not necessarily by ordinary members, the bulk of whom were almost certainly reliant on state-provided services.

This section examines the two manifestos issued by the Conservative Party under Hague and Howard. As already mentioned in the method section, it is the shortest and the least metaphorically loaded section.

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<sup>22</sup> Blair imposed a referendum on the European Constitution.

The most remarkable feature of the language employed by the Conservative Party during the 2001-2005 electoral runs is the use of vocabulary related to the source domains of RELIGION AND ETHICS, as exemplified in (12–14):

(12) THE BRITISH DREAM

(13) We *believe* our close ally deserves our support in countering new threats from rogue states and terrorists equipped with weapons of mass destruction.

(14) Our programme is rooted in the instincts of millions of people whose *beliefs* are mocked by Labour. It is rooted, in other words, in common sense.

Example (13) shows the interplay of metaphors from the domains of WAR AND CONFLICT and RELIGION AND ETHICS already seen in the 1997 section. They do not only help convey the idea of conviction, establishing the party's *ethos* on the issue of Britain as a world leader, but also serve the purpose of legitimisation of Conservative views, since the adjective 'rogue' has a negative connotation of violence meant to lead the readership to accept the need for a powerful Britain as a global leader.

Example (14) reveals the interaction of RELIGION metaphors with metaphors from the domain of PLANTS in order to reinforce the idea of conviction. This is not surprising. As Charteris-Black (2004: 190–200) remarks, plant metaphors are common in religious discourse because they are based on the knowledge of natural processes, activating the conceptual key SPIRITUAL IS NATURAL. The use of RELIGION metaphors in the 2001-2005 section of our corpus represents a rhetorical strategy that seems to underlie the choice of metaphors in (14), and was found in the 2001 manifesto, since 'common sense' was the social virtue through which the party under Hague wanted to regain the electorate's confidence.

As occurred in the 1997 section of the corpus, metaphors from the source domain of MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION portray a scenario which allows for the delegitimisation of Labour's management of the state, with 22 instantiation of the

conceptual metaphor POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING THROUGH A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION, e.g. ‘direction’, ‘reverse’ and ‘stop’. Unlike what happened in section 3.1.1.1. above, Conservative actions consist of impeding Labour movements.

(15) Britain is a great country. But today it is *heading in the wrong direction*.

Finally, a new source domain appears in the conceptualisation of Conservative policies in this section. The domain of HUMAN BODY mirrors the ‘Britain at the heart of Europe’ metaphor (Musolff, 2016):

(16) Welfare without the state. Many of our poorest people are forced to struggle with a families, faith communities and voluntary groups a voice mess of complicated and ill thought out government at *the heart of Government*.

Table 9 below shows the main source domains and instantiations used in the conceptualisation of leadership by the Conservative Party during the 2001 and 2005 general elections.

SOURCE DOMAIN	METAPHOR ACTIVATED	LEXICAL UNIT
MOVEMENT & DIRECTION	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	<i>direction</i> (7), <i>stop</i> (6), <i>reach</i> (3), <i>reverse</i> (6)
RELIGION & ETHICS	IDEOLOGY IS RELIGION	<i>believe</i> (22), <i>mock</i> (1) <i>dream</i> (1)
CREATION & DESTRUCTION	GOOD GOVERNANCE IS CREATION	<i>create</i> (8), <i>encourage</i> (12)
HUMAN BODY	THE STATE IS A PERSON	<i>at the heart of</i> (5) <i>backbone</i> (2)

Table 9: Metaphorical conceptualisation of leadership in the 2001-2005 section of the manifesto corpus.

### 3.1.2.2. Conceptualisation of leadership in the 2001-2005 section of the cartoon corpus

Leadership in the 2001-2005 section of the cartoon corpus proved to be a common topic: 52% of the cartoons in this section focused on the situation of the party's political leaders those years. The cartoons dealing with leadership can be divided into two main categories: those dealing with the problems the candidates faced and those which reflect the influence still exerted by Thatcherism. Eight of them belong to the 2001 general election and 13 are concerned with the 2005 general election. Out of the 21 cartoons analysed, eight rely on cultural events, be it movies, literary works or popular icons such as Dracula.

The cartoon shown in figure 28 shows the situation of the Conservative leader of the time.

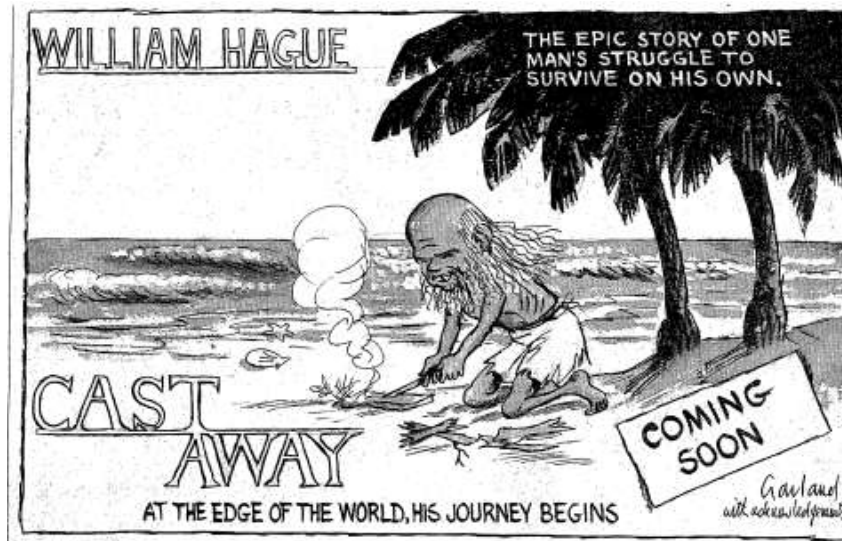


Figure 28. Garland's cartoon about Hague's political circumstances. *The Daily Telegraph*, 10 January 2001.

Again, Garland resorts to a widely-known movie to depict the Conservative leader. He uses a scene of the movie *Cast Away* (2000), where a man who has been left behind on an island is trying to make fire under two palm trees. The man is Hague, whose

distinctive baldness contrasts sharply with his long beard. The captions read “AT THE EDGE OF THE WORLD, HIS JOURNEY BEGINS”, and “THE EPIC STORY OF ONE MAN’S STRUGGLE TO SURVIVE ON HIS OWN”. Garland relies on the journey schema to indicate the Conservative candidate’s dreadful position. The cartoonist is not only evoking Hague’s political solitude, but also the hardship he is to endure during the journey of the political campaign and his scarce margin of movement. His loneliness on a desert island reflects the metaphor POLITICAL SUPPORT IS PHYSICAL COMPANY.

Three cartoons depict advertising scenarios. In Brookes’ cartoon shown in figure 29 and published in *The Times* during the 2001 campaign, we see a Labour electoral poster featuring Hague’s face with Thatcher’s hairstyle and earrings. The caption reads “Get out and vote or they get in”. Blair is pointing to the poster, saying “IT TAKES ONE TO KNOW ONE”. Surprisingly, he is disguised as Thatcher, wearing a wig, earrings and carrying Thatcher’s distinctive handbag, which has tags with the words “THE ECONOMY”, “PRIVATISATION” and “CRIME BENEFIT” – tried-and-trusted Thatcherite slogans. The aim of this cartoon is to compare Blair’s policies with Thatcher’s policies by taking advantage of the Labour party’s campaign. During the campaign, Labourists came up with a poster for the 2001 campaign<sup>23</sup> comparing Hague with Thatcher (see figure 30), thus yielding the conceptual metaphor IDEOLOGICAL SIMILARITY IS PHYSICAL RESEMBLANCE. Thatcher’s identifying features such as hairstyle and accessories express a double metonymy BODY PART FOR PERSON FOR PRODUCT. These elements on Hague and Blair remind us of the influence of her policies, which are meant to be imitated not only by the Conservative leader, whom she supported, but also by their political opponent.

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<sup>23</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2015/apr/03/the-10-best-british-political-posters>.





Figure 29. Brooke's cartoon about Thatcher's influence on both Conservatives and Labour. *The Times* 31 May 2001.



Figure 30. Original campaign poster.

The metaphor IDEOLOGICAL SIMILARITY IS PHYSICAL RESEMBLANCE is instantiated in three cartoons in this section. Published after the loss of the 2005 general election, the cartoon shown in figure 31 relies on an intertextuality element to describe the subsequent leadership contest. Garland uses a passage of *Cinderella* where the prince, with the aim of finding out the woman who had lost her shoe at the ball, attempted to fit it into her step-sisters' feet, only to discover that neither of them was the girl he had

fallen in love with. The cartoon features two people sitting on a chair, dressed like Thatcher, wearing a wig with her distinctive hairstyle. They metonymically stand for Thatcher, and Thatcher is in turn metonymically representing Thatcherism, i.e. the different policies that had granted Conservatives their best days in the 1980s. They are probably prominent Conservative politicians who stepped up for the leadership contest. An old man is seemingly trying to fit the crystal shoe into the candidates' feet, while one of the politicians says one of the most famous quotes by Thatcher, pronounced at the Conservative Party's Conference in 1980 "(....) LADY'S NOT FOR TURNING!". The cartoon manifests the metaphor SUITABLE IS FIT, which in this case conceptualises Conservative Party's leadership as a shoe which needs to fit the contender's foot. We can see a contrast between an oversized shoe and the candidate's undersized foot, which implies that candidates standing at that moment were not fit for the job (SUITABILITY IS SIZE), although they tried to imitate Thatcher, whose characteristic outfit and hairstyle metonymically evoke her.



Figure 31. Morland's cartoon about the 2005 leadership contest. *The Times*, 14 October 2005.

The Conservative candidate in the 2005 general election, Michael Howard, was consistently portrayed as Dracula in four cartoons by *The Times* cartoonists Peter Brookes and Morten Morland, as illustrated by the following cartoons. Brookes' cartoon

(see figure 32) was published when the manifesto was launched. Howard, characterised as Dracula, is trying to get out of a coffin. The caption, in red capital letters, reads “TODAY’S MANIFESTO, YESTERDAY’S MAN”. Dracula – yesterday’s man – is showing the main Conservative proposals, the campaign slogan, “ARE YOU THINKING WHAT WE ARE THINKING?” being replaced by “ARE YOU SINKING HOW WE ARE SINKING?”. The new slogan yields the actual target of the cartoon, namely the bad ratings the party obtained in the polls before the election. The cartoon relies on a sea journey metaphor verbally instantiated: the party is conceptualised as a ship whose failure to get to a destination is mapped as a wreckage. This combines with a LIFE AND DEATH metaphor in which a politically dead man such as Howard, who had already run for leadership in 1997, gets out of the coffin to lead the 2005 campaign.



Figure 32. Brookes’ cartoon about Howard. *The Times*, 12 April 2005.

The cartoon shown in figure 33 shows Howard with Dracula’s teeth and black cloak in a typical scene of the campaign. The candidate is walking down the street and has just taken a potential voter who has been bitten in the neck. He says “I AM BREATHING NEW LIFE INTO THE CAMPAIGN”. In the background we see two people discussing the Conservative manifesto: “TORIES (...) OWN %”; “ARE YOU THINKING?”. Behind them a man is walking with his arms stretched, blurred on purpose, indicating



he has already become a zombie. All these details turn the electoral campaign into a horror movie scene, in which Conservative voters are bitten in the neck and therefore lose their ability to think. The underlying metaphor can be formulated as OBTAINING VOTERS IS SUCKING THEIR JUDGMENT. Once somebody is bitten by Dracula, unconsciousness follows. All these elements show the author's negative evaluation of the Conservative campaign and candidate chosen, who will bring no benefits to the party.



Figure 33. Morland's cartoon about Howard's campaign. *The Times*, 2 May 2005.

The last cartoon in this section (figure 34) depicts again Howard as Dracula and the newly elected leader's face, David Cameron, as a sun from which Howard, as a vampire who is afraid of light, is trying to escape. The caption reads "NEW DAWN". These visual and verbal elements cue the metaphorical representation of Cameron as the sun, whose light brings life and keeps vampires away, thus conveying a positive evaluation of the new leader through the conceptual metaphor GOOD IS LIGHT, in contrast with the negative evaluation of Howard, depicted as Dracula, who only feels safe at night. This description of Howard triggers the metaphor BAD IS DARKNESS. Notice the dysphemistic nature of Howard's portrayal as Dracula. The authors resorts to collective imagery and culturally shared knowledge of Dracula's behaviour in order to map the behavioural and attitudinal features of a villain who inspires terror to his victims (the potential

Conservative voters). Both Howard and Cameron should be metonymically interpreted (LEADER FOR IDEOLOGY). The conceptualisation of Cameron as the sun that brings a new dawn contrasts sharply with the consistent representation of Howard as Dracula, showing *The Times*' editorial line. Brookes seems to be happy about the political departure of a politician who brought negative electoral results for the party due to his hard-core Thatcherite ideas. In fact, the ideological crisis of the Conservative Party resulted in the endorsement of New Labour by *The Times* for the 2001 and 2005 general elections<sup>24</sup>.



Figure 34. Brookes's cartoon about Cameron's arrival. *The Times*, 7 October 2005.

The cartoons in this section fall within two categories: (1) cartoons showing the influence of Thatcher through the conceptual metaphor IDEOLOGY IS PHYSICAL RESEMBLANCE, and (2) cartoons depicting the Conservative candidate as Dracula. The depiction of a Conservative candidate like Howard as Dracula enables the author to map a series of negatively evaluated attitudes onto the politician. For example, Howard's long political life (he served under Thatcher and was appointed as a member of the Cabinet under Major) is illustrated by Dracula's immortality, although at the same time,

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<sup>24</sup>To see the different endorsements of the main British newspapers in the elections since WWII, visit <https://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2010/may/04/general-election-newspaper-support>.

it is negatively evaluated since Howard is a political dinosaur. His inability to stand daylight allows for the arrival of the new Conservative leader, Cameron, who will be the main character in subsequent cartoons.

### **3.1.3. The 2010 section**

#### *3.1.3.1. Conceptualisation of leadership in the 2010 section of the manifesto corpus*

After the Conservative Party lost the 2005 general election, David Cameron won the leadership contest held on 5 December 2005. Unlike Major, Hague, Duncan-Smith and Howard, Cameron had enough time to reshape the party and establish himself as a solid leader before facing a general election.

His early actions, together with the economic crisis of 2008, which eroded the Labour government, transformed the landscape for conservatism, as acknowledged in the political literature. As Norton (2008: 329) claims:

What Cameron is doing is learning from earlier periods of opposition and from the leadership of Margaret Thatcher. He is conveying a sense of direction through the emphasis on values that are shared by electors. This is notably so in terms of ethical values: of the need to preserve the environment and to embrace a sense of social responsibility, especially in terms of family and the local community.

In January 2009 Cameron coined the phrase ‘Progressive Conservatism’ to characterise the newly-adopted Conservatives’ approach. The party turned its attention towards old core Tory values, such as social justice, the family and local communities (‘The Big Society’), turning its back to liberal Thatcherite priorities such as inflation and the feud against trade unions. This is also pointed out by Blond (2008, *The Guardian*<sup>25</sup>): “Cameron has a decision to make: either he repeats the errors of neoliberalism, or he

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<sup>25</sup> The whole interview can be read at:

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2008/may/30/davidcameron.welfare>.

radicalizes and extends his own vision of civic conservatism”. However, some critics (i.e. Kisby, 2010) saw this approach as an attempt to reject the Conservative Party’s ideology under Thatcher.

In our analysis, 39 lexical units are metaphorically used to convey a sense of solid political leadership. In terms of source domains, the most relevant ones are MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION, RELIGION AND ETHICS, BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION, MACHINES AND TOOLS, and WAR AND CONFLICT.

The authors of the manifesto conceptualise the task of returning to power as a journey, as exemplified in the (17):

- (17) The *journey we embarked on* four and a half years ago was all about applying this Conservative approach to the progressive challenges of our age: making opportunity more equal; fighting poverty and inequality; improving the environment and general well-being.

Example (17) profiles the metaphor PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION. The combination of a “Conservative approach” and “progressive challenges” is meant to appeal to both core and potential voters. Besides, the identification of “poverty” and “inequality” as enemies (SOCIAL PROBLEMS ARE ENEMIES) contributes to a general sense of justice which the party wished to gain in the first years of Cameron’s leadership.

The 2010 manifesto heavily relies on metaphors from the domain of MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION to criticise the Labour Government, whereas in the 1997 manifesto this source domain was used to justify Major’s policies:

- (18) If you are a progressive, if you care about our liberties, if you want to free people from the clutches of an over-mighty state, we say join us. We fought

42-day detention – and brought about another humiliating Brown *u-turn as his plans crashed to defeat*.

- (19) Yet we are proposing to carry out these changes all at once, because that is the only way *to put Britain on the right path* for a successful future.

The Conservatives also rely on the domain of MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION to describe problems like centralisation:

- (20) But what was a gradual centralisation *has accelerated* dramatically under Labour. Bureaucratic control has replaced democratic accountability.

As noticed by Norton (2008), many Cameron's proposals focused on society, as exemplified in (21), where the Conservative Party appeals to citizenship's *pathos* by highlighting the social connection between individuals, society and nation conceptualising the nation as COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE PIECES OF CLOTHING.

- (21) There are many threads that *tie together our society*, many *bonds that bind us* into one great nation.

Metaphors from the domain of WAR AND CONFLICT are also pervasive in the 2010 section. They are used to explain problems or to show conviction, usually interacting with metaphors from the domain of RELIGION AND ETHICS, or MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION. Most of the metaphorically used lexis from the domain of war and conflict has a defensive meaning: 'defend' (85 hits), 'protect' (87 hits), 'secure' (83 hits). These terms cue the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS CONFLICT, which allows the party to identify threats, to present Labour as a destroying force and to establish itself as a protector of positively evaluated elements of British life, as in (22–24).



(22) Even as it has done so, the problems *confronting Britain have escalated*, and *escalated* fast.

(23) the *battle to break down barriers* that hold back so many people will be at the core of our agenda for government. We will use every lever available to ensure equal opportunities turns from a dream into reality.

(24) We will *scale back* Labour's database state and *protect* the privacy of the public's information. We will introduce a balanced approach to the retention of people's DNA and reform the criminal records system so it protects children without destroying trust.

The pervasiveness of metaphors from the source domain of RELIGION AND ETHICS is illustrated by the pervasiveness of terms such as ‘vision’ (29 occurrences) and ‘values’ (22 hits), which instantiate the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS RELIGION.

(25) This is a Conservative *vision* for our future, and it is based on Conservative values.

(26) Promoting Britain's interests and *values* means developing and strengthening our alliances and reforming international institutions.

The reliance on religious metaphors reflects the party’s advocacy for Progressive Conservatism, since they help to create a scenario in which the party shows compromise and determination in the solution of problems, creating a sense of belonging and a shared objective that may attract voters. This function is also carried out by CONFLICT metaphors such as ‘mission’, in (27), interplaying with other source domains:

- (27) A more liberal, tolerant and open society. Our progressive *mission* to build a more dynamic, enterprising and participatory society will fail unless everybody has the chance to play their part. This is why tackling discrimination and promoting diversity have become so important to the Conservative Party today.

Interestingly, the 2010 manifesto relies heavily on metaphors from the source domain of BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION and creation and destruction metaphors. For example, Antconc retrieved 81 concordance hits for various inflections of ‘build’ and ‘create’. This is significant when compared to the 27 hits in the 1997 section and the 16 hits in the 2001-2005 section for ‘build’. ‘Build’ normally collocates with abstract elements carrying heavy ideological connotations such as the ‘Big Society’, a ‘strong economy’. Similarly, words derived from ‘creation’ are more frequent in this section (154 hits). They were marked as metaphorical when collocating with abstract nouns (67 times), instantiating the conceptual metaphor GOOD GOVERNANCE IS CREATION.

- (28) But the real prize for Britain is to *create* a new economic model, one founded on investment and savings not borrowing and debt.

Finally, there are three lexical units pertaining to the domain of MACHINES AND TOOLS which profile metaphors such as CONSERVATIVE POLICIES ARE TOOLS, which serve the purpose of either helping to achieve political objectives (29) or to reshape the party (30).

- (29) We believe in people power and today the information revolution gives us the practical *tools* to realise that philosophy.

- (30) Since then, the Party has *remoulded* itself for the modern era, applying its deepest values and beliefs to the urgent problems of the hour.

To conclude, the new approach adopted by the Conservative Party, known as Progressive Conservatism, involved a change in the use of the source domains to convey the idea of political leadership. Metaphors from the source domains of RELIGION and BUILDINGS become pervasive, since they express a sense of belonging to a group which helped the party to detach itself from its neoliberal past. There is a greater occurrence of WAR AND CONFLICT metaphors, which convey determination. In fact, Conservatives under Cameron adopted one of the main Thatcherite rhetoric strategies, namely the reliance of WAR AND CONFLICT metaphors, to criticise controversial issues identified with Labour.

Table 10 below shows the main source domains used in this section and their most relevant instantiations.

<b>SOURCE DOMAIN</b>	<b>METAPHOR</b>	<b>LEXICAL UNIT</b>
WAR & CONFLICT	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	<i>mission</i> (13), <i>protect</i> (35), <i>lead from the front</i> (6), <i>strategy</i> (6)
RELIGION & ETHICS	IDEOLOGY IS RELIGION	<i>values</i> (29), <i>vision</i> (22), <i>belief</i> (6)
BUILDINGS & CONSTRUCTION	PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS A BUILDING	<i>build</i> (11), <i>building block</i> (1), <i>foundation</i> (1), <i>strength</i> (1)
CREATION & DESTRUCTION	GOOD GOVERNANCE IS CREATION	<i>create</i> (67), <i>encourage</i> (28)

Table 10. Metaphorical conceptualisation of leadership in the 2010 section of the manifesto corpus.

### *3.1.3.2. Conceptualisation of leadership in the 2010 section of the cartoon corpus*

There are only 10 cartoons that target political leadership in the 2010 section of the cartoon corpus (13% of the total number of cartoons in this section). The reason is that Cameron was elected in 2005 and his leadership was secured until 2010. Moreover, the economic turmoil capitalised political news, which focused on Brown's Labour government.

Two cartoons rely on scenarios depicting natural disasters. The first cartoon (figure 35) is divided into four sections depicting the different stages of a volcano eruption. The top-left image shows a volcano erupting lava. Cameron's facial traits, particularly his red cheek, can be identified on the volcano. In the second picture, the eruption consists of a column of ashes. The lava has disappeared. Cameron's expression is that of surprise. In the third scene, the smoke and ash column have considerably thinned, and in the last one, the eruption seems to be over, and the onomatopoeic "PHUT" appears, metonymically standing for the noise of gases. Cameron is looking at the crater. The source and the target are not only visually cued through the hybrid metaphor created with Cameron's face and the volcano but are also verbally rendered through the caption "EIJAFJALLAJOKAMERON", pointing to the Icelandic volcano that erupted in April 2010 and caused heavy disturbances in global air traffic. However, the logic of the eruption sequence is not logical. The eruption gradually decreases. This hints at the performance of the Conservative candidate at a specific time of the campaign. In fact, the cartoon was published on 22 April, the day when the second television debate took place. Cameron's ratings in opinion polls had plunged on the days before the debate<sup>26</sup>, so the cartoonist uses the metaphor MORE IS UP to frame Cameron's performance as a volcano eruption, instantiating the metaphor POPULARITY IS A HOT GAS IN A CONTAINER.

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<sup>26</sup> The polls can be consulted at <http://ukpollingreport.co.uk/voting-intention-2005-2010> .



Figure 35. Brooks' cartoon about Cameron. *The Times*, 22 April 2018.

As mentioned earlier, the 2010 general election resulted in the Conservatives' victory but with a hung parliament. Therefore, a coalition government was necessary to carry out the policies aiming to tackle the severe economic problems of the UK at the time. Negotiations were held between the Conservative Party and the Liberal Democrat Party, led by Nick Clegg, who appears in the next cartoon (figure 36). In the announcement of the agreement, Cameron used the term "vision", which appears in the 2010 manifesto. Published in early June 2010, a month after the election, the cartoon shows both Cameron and Clegg on a bed within a family life scenario that triggers the metaphor POLITICAL ALLIANCES ARE COUPLES. Clegg and Cameron are the couple who share the bed (the government), their parties are metonymically represented by their colours, blue for Cameron and yellow for Clegg. The caption reads "SHARED VISION" and the headboard is a sign that the couple are having the same dream. The dream evokes Thatcher, who appears over the headboard with an axe, a metonymic representation of the cut policies Thatcherite governments applied in the early 1980s. The text and the image render the metaphor CONSERVATIVE POLICIES ARE DREAMS. There is a meaningful pictorial detail: Cameron seems to be having a pleasant dream, as he is in a relaxed

position and is drooling over the ‘vision’<sup>27</sup>, while Clegg has just woken up in despair, as if having a nightmare, which reflects the metaphor CONSERVATIVE POLICIES ARE NIGHTMARES. At the same time, Thatcherite economic policies are metonymically represented by an axe.



Figure 36. Morland's cartoon about Conservative policies. *The Times*, 7 June 2010.

Thatcher's influence on Cameron is also dealt with in the next cartoon (figure 37). Cameron is spitting sour milk. He is holding a bottle of milk where we see Thatcher's face and the message "SNATCHED FROM THE HANDS OF YOUNG CHILDREN" and "CONSUME BEFORE 1971". It refers to the controversial policies implemented in the 1970s to cut the budget when Thatcher was the Secretary of Education and the government eradicated a scheme which supplied primary school children with a pint of milk at school on a daily basis<sup>28</sup>. The cartoon was published in August 2010, when the Coalition Government adopted political measures to face a public debt crisis. Drawing from the source domain of COOKING AND FOOD, which is used twice in this section, the cartoon activates the conceptual metaphor POLICIES ARE PRODUCTS, and the image profiles the metaphor CONTROVERSIAL POLICIES ARE INTOXICATED MILK. Cameron's

<sup>27</sup> During the negotiations, Cameron consistently justified the dropping of Conservative pledges by using the expression of 'shared vision', as can be seen in <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/david-cameron/7744821/David-Cameron-drops-more-Tory-pledges-as-he-hails-coalition-deal.html>.

<sup>28</sup> <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/7932963/How-Margaret-Thatcher-became-known-as-Milk-Snatcher.html>

words “IT’S OFF” seem to reject the policies backed by Thatcher<sup>29</sup> and cue the metaphor THATCHERISM IS AN EXPIRED PRODUCT.



Figure 37. Morland’s cartoon about Cameron’s acceptance of Thatcherite policies. *The Times*, 9 August 2010.

Out of the 10 cartoons analysed, two rely on animals to conceptualise Cameron’s leadership. In the cartoon shown in figure 38, Cameron is posing for a photo with a blue ribbon. The caption reads “MODERN CONSERVATIVES...”. In the next scene, a banner which reads “BAN GAYS” appears behind him along with a reptilian leg. In the third scene, he turns back and orders “KEEP IN LINE!”. Behind him, dinosaurs’ heads and bodies cue the metaphor CONSERVATIVE POLITICIANS ARE DINOSAURS. Finally, he rushes to the original position. The image also reflects the metaphor POLITICAL CONTROL IS CONTROL OVER PHYSICAL MOVEMENT, since Cameron controls his colleagues. Morland thus maps negatively evaluated features from dinosaurs onto the structures of the Conservative Party, metonymically represented by the dinosaurs, whose irrational behaviour is mapped onto Conservative politicians, along with other features such as inability to adapt and anachronism. Cameron is portrayed as the only available person who is not politically old-fashioned, thus hinting at a lack of homogeneity amongst the party’s ranks and Cameron’s inability to control it.

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<sup>29</sup> The details of the controversy can be found at <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-15809645>





Figure 38. Morland's cartoon about Cameron's leadership. *The Times*, 5 April 2010.

The coining of 'Progressive Conservatism' and the subsequent focus on social issues ('The Big Society') involved a change of approach based on the need to confirm the party's commitment to social issues, which was reflected in the use of metaphors from the source domain of RELIGION and BUILDINGS. The press still focuses on Thatcher's influence, showing partial or total rejection of Thatcherite policies.

### 3.1.4. The 2015 section

#### 3.1.4.1. Conceptualisation of leadership in the 2015 section of the manifesto corpus

The 2010 general election resulted in a hung Parliament which obliged Cameron to govern in a coalition with the Liberal Democrats. Within this context, the 2015 general election was seen as an opportunity to gain a majority and carry out the policies that either the economic crisis or the coalitions had impeded.

Political action, though, revealed that Progressive Conservatism was a marketing operation, which had more to do with Thatcherism than with an alternative form of conservatism (Griffith, 2014), since "both Thatcherism and Cameron promote a



particular view of modernity, which is sceptical about the state, individualist and pro-market (...).<sup>30</sup>”

In addition, internal dissent over the integration in the European Union was visible in the 2015 manifesto. Cameron committed himself to hold a referendum on the issue, which eventually led to his resignation and the end of his political career.

In the 2015 manifesto, there are 31 different lexical items used to depict political leadership. The attraction towards liberal policies, partially hinted by the last cartoons of the 2010 section, is also perceived in the 2015 manifesto, which uses elements of Thatcherite rhetoric, such as the reliance on the source domains of WAR and GAMES (86 hits of ‘protect’ and 106 hits of ‘secure’). This is illustrated by the cover design of the manifesto (see figure 39).

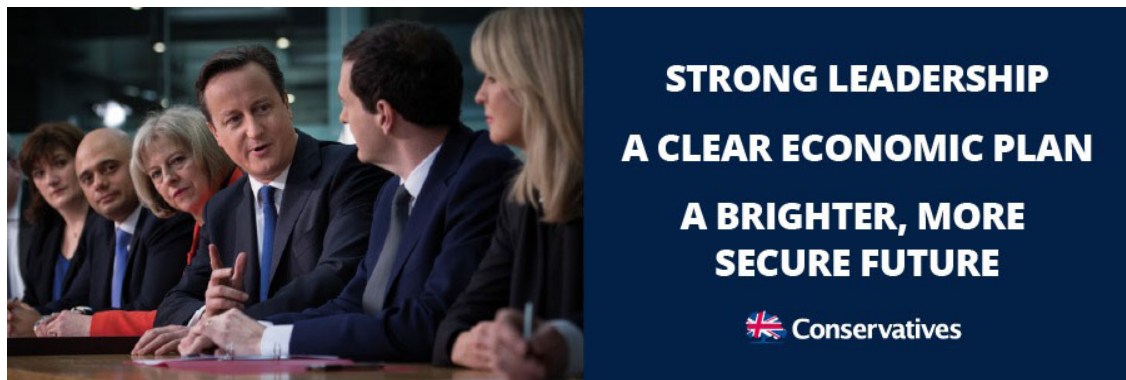


Figure 39. Cover of the 2015 manifesto. Retrieved from <https://www.conservatives.com/manifesto2015>.

The cover of the 2015 manifesto suggests that there was a strategical need to highlight the party’s position (83 hits of ‘strong’) and its ability to carry out the plan that could not be completed in the previous five years of coalition government. Thus, GAMES AND SPORT metaphors which help emphasise competitiveness, one of the features of

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<sup>30</sup> <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/progressive-conservatism-revisited-camerons-progressive-conservatism-has-cast-him-more-as-the-heir-to-thatcher-than-to-disraeli/>

Thatcher's rhetorical style, were used for this purpose. This source domain is instantiated by terms such as 'lead' (14 instantiations), 'stake', 'team' and 'win':

- (31) Those weeks in 2012 demonstrated the best of our country. When the *pressure* is *on*, we *deliver*; when the stakes are high, we come together; when it comes to taking on the world, we can *win*.

The alleged turn towards Thatcherite policies is also reflected in the language used in the manifesto. There is a tendency in the 2010 and 2015 manifestos to use more terms from the domain of MONEY AND ECONOMIC TRANSACTIONS, which are normally used in business. For example, a search for the headword 'deliver' yielded 73 concordance hits in the 2015 manifesto, as compared with 86 in the 2010 manifesto, although it is larger, and it is more frequent than in the 1997 and 2001-2005 sections of this study, which featured 14 and 21 hits respectively.

This finding is consistent with Deignan and Armstrong's (2015) finding of the pervasiveness of accountancy terms in Scottish legal texts. In politics, 'deliver' is metaphorically used to refer to policies or outcomes. Through the metaphorical use of 'deliver', the party presents itself as the only reliable political force capable of achieving the goal, gaining the reader's attention and generating trust. The verb 'deliver' is also used intransitively, or in combination with other metaphors, as in (32). The term reflects the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS BUSINESS.

- (32) Only the Conservative Party will *deliver* real change in Europe – and only the Conservatives can and will deliver an in-out referendum.

Even though metaphors from the domain of RELIGION AND ETHICS occur less in the 2015 section than in the 2010 section – a search for 'believe' retrieved only 17 instances in the 2015 section as compared with 56 in the 2010 section, there are three

instantiations of the conceptual metaphor IDEOLOGY IS A RELIGION, which express the Conservatives' commitment to nationalism and "small state".

(33) All this reflects a core Conservative *belief*: power to the people.

The lexical unit 'sacrifice' appears 12 times in the 2010 section, and only once in the 2015 section, and is to be interpreted as an attempt to justify the economic policies.

(34) This has not happened by accident. It is the result of difficult decisions and of patiently working through our long-term economic plan. Above all, it is the product of a supreme national effort, in which everyone has made *sacrifices* and everyone has played their part.

The role played by metaphors from the source domain of MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION, as seen in (35) and (36), is to warn about the dangers of not finishing that long-term plan for Britain. This domain is instantiated by terms like 'reverse' (2 instantiations) and 'stop' (13), which are negatively evaluated and they are commonly used to depict Labour policies. The metaphor POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION combines with a BUILDING metaphor in (37). Actually, there are 73 instances of 'build' in the manifesto, 24 of which have been metaphorically used.

(35) If we do not stick to our long-term economic plan, we will *slip back* again, *reversing the progress* we have made in the last five years.

(36) If we stick to our long-term plan, we can secure a better future for you and your family. So let us keep *moving forward*; and set our sights on making our great country greater still.

- (37) Now is a time to *build on* the progress we have made, not to put it all at risk.  
This Manifesto is our plan of action – our plan to take our amazing country  
*forward*. Above all, it is a plan for you.

It seems clear that a “secure a better future” (36), is an euphemistic expression which should be interpreted in terms of economic prosperity and is the intended destination of the JOURNEY scenario laid out by Cameron, which is also used in combination with metaphors from other source domains, as illustrated by example (38) and (39), which triggers the metaphor NATION IS A PERSON, a prevailing metaphor in other sections of this study. In this case, it is an example a MASTER/SERVANT metaphor, which belongs to Thatcherite rhetoric (Charteris-Black, 2005).

- (38) Our prosperity depends upon Britain remaining an active, *outward-looking nation*, one that is engaged with the world, not *looking in* on itself.

- (39) Government is the *servant* of the British people, not their *master*. That simple fact was forgotten when Labour was in power. Quangos grew in number, wasteful projects proliferated and the bureaucracy swelled – symptoms of a Government that believed it always knew best.

Table 11 shows the main source domains used in the conceptualisation of leadership in the 2015 section of the manifesto corpus.

<b>SOURCE DOMAIN</b>	<b>METAPHOR</b>	<b>LEXICAL UNIT</b>
RELIGION & ETHICS	POLITICS IS RELIGION / IDEAS ARE RELIGIOUS PRECEPTS	<i>values</i> (13), <i>believe</i> (6), <i>vision</i> (4), <i>belief</i> (3)
GAMES & SPORTS	POLITICS IS COMPETITION / POLITICS IS A GAME	<i>lead</i> (14), <i>win</i> (3), <i>team</i> (2), <i>stake</i> (1)
MOVEMENT & DIRECTION	PROSPERITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	<i>stop</i> (13), <i>reverse</i> (2), <i>reach</i> (3), <i>path</i> (3)
WAR & CONFLICT	POLITICS IS CONFLICT / ECONOMY IS COMPETITION	<i>protect</i> (17), <i>strategy</i> (12), <i>win</i> (3)

Table 11. Metaphorical conceptualisation of leadership in the 2015 section of the manifesto corpus.

#### *3.1.4.2. Conceptualisation of leadership in the 2015 section of the cartoon corpus*

In the 2015 section of the cartoon corpus, 15 cartoons whose target is political leadership in the Conservative Party have been found.

The cartoon shown in figure 40 was drawn by Adams for *The Daily Telegraph*. Cameron walks towards the sun holding the 2015 manifesto. The manifesto metonymically stands for conservative policies. However, he projects a shadow on the wall similar to that of Thatcher. This visual element cues the double metonymy SHADOW FOR PERSON FOR POLICIES, which is subsumed within the conceptual metaphor IDEOLOGICAL SIMILARITY IS PHYSICAL RESEMBLANCE.



Figure 40. Adams' cartoon about Cameron's ideology. *The Daily Telegraph*, 15 April 2015.

By using different scenarios, there are three cartoons in this section which feature the metaphor conceptual metaphor IDEOLOGICAL SIMILARITY IS PHYSICAL RESEMBLANCE. Published on the day before the manifesto was launched, the cartoon shown in figure 41 also by Adams, employs dress style to represent candidates, parties and policies. The Conservative government is usually identified with men wearing a suit, a white-collar shirt and a tie who represent the financial sectors traditionally supporting the party, related to financial and banking services. The other outfit in the cartoon is a doctor's white coat, with some of its apparel, metonymically standing for public services. The target of the cartoon is the contrast between two antagonistic measures which are verbally cued in speech bubbles: the £8bn extra funding for the NHS and the pledge for fiscal responsibility (which implies public spending cuts). This is an instantiation of domain expansion metonymy CLOTHES FOR PEOPLE FOR INSTITUTION FOR IDEOLOGY. The metaphor subsuming this metonymy is verbally cued by the text: "ANSWER: Put No.1 in Fg. B and No.2 in Fg.1". This answer is surprising, because an average reader would expect Cameron to wear his distinctive blue suit rather than a doctor's coat while announcing further budget expansions for the NHS. The underlying metaphor can be formulated as CHANGING POLICIES IS CHANGING CLOTHES.



Figure 41. Adams' cartoon about Conservative ideologies. *The Daily Telegraph*, 14 April 2015.

The 2015 section also gives evidence of the influence of Thatcherite policies in the cartoons selected from *The Times*. The cartoon in figure 42 shows Peter Brookes' reaction to the release of the 2015 Conservative manifesto. The cartoon features Cameron as a gardener working in his backyard garden. He is moving a cart with Thatcher's corpse in it. The words "RIGHT TO BUY" on the cart provide the target, which is a proposal in the Conservative manifesto launched on the very same day. Thatcher's corpse on the cart metonymically represents Thatcher's policies in a CREATOR FOR PRODUCT metonymy. In the cartoon, Cameron utters the sentence "IT'S A VERY OLD PROGRAMME ABOUT LOOKING AFTER YOURSELF AND THROWING SH\*T AROUND!". This hints at Cameron's purpose: using Thatcherite policies as manure to fertilise the garden. The source of the resulting metaphor activates the metaphor USING THATCHERITE POLICIES IS FERTILISING A GARDEN. The programme he mentions is using one of the main slogans of Thatcherism in the 1980's, the 'right to buy', which Cameron is using as a fertiliser. The metaphor THATCHERISM IS A FERTILISER yields the following entailments:

- CAMERON IS A GARDENER
- THE GARDEN IS THE ELECTORATE

The critical nature of the cartoon is apparent, and 'throw sh\*t around' is to be understood as a metaphorical expression for putting the blame on other people.

Fertilising signifies Cameron's ability to politically survive by applying Thatcherite policies, which put the blame on innocent people.



Figure 42. Brookes' cartoon about the 2015 Conservative manifesto. *The Times*, 15 April 2015.

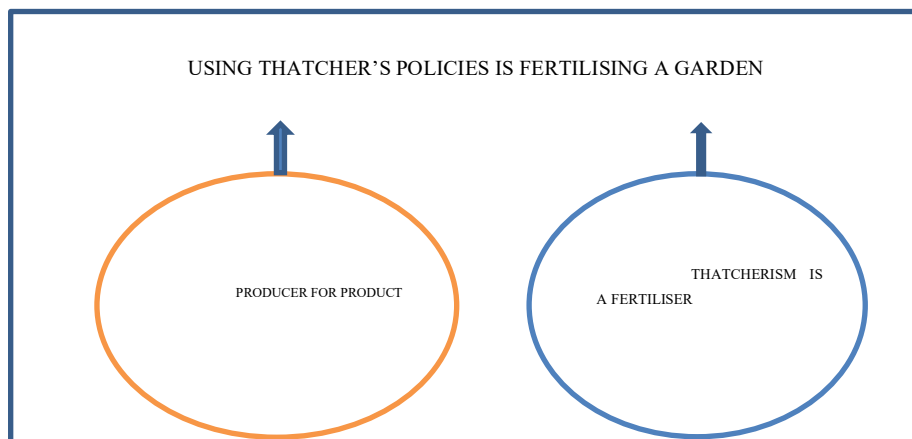


Figure 43. Metaphor-metonymy interaction in the cartoon shown in figure 42.

To close this section, the cartoon shown in figure 45 draws on the source domain of animals and resembles the poster issued by the Conservative Party in the early stages of the 2015 campaign (figure 44). Apparently, it shows a JOURNEY scenario used to emphasise the need to remain in power. The poster displays a country road and a message: LET'S STAY ON THE ROAD TO A STRONGER ECONOMY. In the actual



poster, the original message is supported by figures. In Brookes' cartoon, it is modified by "DEBT UP. TAXES UP. TIME'S UP". The text instantiates the conceptual metaphor MORE IS UP. At the bottom of the poster, the vehicle of the JOURNEY metaphor is metonymically represented by the UK's flag (SYMBOL FOR COUNTRY). There is a hedgehog, but here, in contrast with figure 44, it metonymically stands for the Conservative government, since it has Cameron's face (LEADER FOR INSTITUTION). The hedgehog has just been run over, which is again reminiscent of figure 22, thus cueing the same metaphor, POLITICAL INDECISION IS LACK OF PROGRESS and POLITICAL FAILURE IS BEING RUN OVER. Brookes shows a sceptical attitude towards the achievements of the Conservative Government.



Figure 44. Original Conservative poster for the 2015 general election.



Figure 45. Brooke's cartoon about Cameron's performance before the 2015 general election. *The Times*, 3 January 2015.

To sum up, the analysis of the 15 cartoons in this section reveal that Cameron's political stances for the 2015 general election were negatively evaluated mainly for the lack of own ideology. The presence of Thatcher is pervasive in the cartoons devoted to leadership, thus corroborating her role the party.

### 3.1.5. Discussion and comparison of results in the leadership section

The analysis of the sections concerned with Conservative leadership in the linguistic corpus has shown that the relevance of certain lexical units from certain source domains, exemplified by the headwords which appear in table 12, varies across the corpus. For example, whilst 'believe', a religious word, becomes less frequent in the 2015 section of the linguistic corpus, others, such as 'build', 'create', or 'deliver', are pervasive in the 2010 and 2015 sections, which indicates a change in rhetorical strategies.

	1997	2001-2005	2010	2015	Hits in the manifesto corpus
<b>Believe</b>	26	26	52	17	121
<b>Build</b>	27	16	81	73	197
<b>Create</b>	27	29	154	59	269
<b>Defend</b>	10	14	85	27	136
<b>Deliver</b>	12	21	89	54	176
<b>Encourage</b>	46	24	55	16	141
<b>Fight</b>	12	4	33	11	60
<b>Manage</b>	7	12	33	7	59
<b>Promote</b>	8	13	65	31	117
<b>Protect</b>	32	18	87	80	217
<b>Provide</b>	40	29	165	50	290
<b>Safeguard</b>	2	2	9	7	20
<b>Secure</b>	45	29	83	106	263
<b>Strengthen</b>	12	17	26	83	92

Table 12. Relevant lexical units for the conceptualisation of political leadership in the manifestos.

The main source domains in the conceptualisation of political leadership in the manifestos are MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION, BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION, and WAR AND CONFLICT. In the 1997 and 2001-2005 periods, the party used Thatcherite rhetorical strategies in order to polarise voters. Neo-liberal proposals place the emphasis on individualism, which is reflected in the pervasiveness of ‘encourage’, metaphorically used in 1997. Under Cameron’s leadership, the party used rhetorical strategies which emphasise the importance of social cohesion, e.g. the metaphor GOOD GOVERNING IS CREATING, and BUILDING metaphors, which arouse feelings of empathy from intended voters.

At the same time, terms from the source domain of MONEY AND ECONOMIC TRANSACTIONS such as ‘deliver’, are more common in the two manifestos under Cameron’s leadership, indicating a rhetorical move towards a managerial style, obviously due to the economic crisis and the need to present themselves as sound economic managers.

However, Conservative rhetoric under Cameron draws on Thatcherite rhetoric. For example, the Conservative Party still relies on the domain of WAR AND CONFLICT. This is seen in the use of terms such as ‘defend’ and ‘protect’ (see table 12). Interestingly, metaphors that do not convey the idea of war but focus on prevention increase dramatically in our corpus. Therefore, we believe that ‘protect’, ‘safeguard’ and ‘secure’ are used with a euphemistic purpose, which allows the Conservative Party under Cameron to keep a positive face towards the British electorate, contributing to the process of *remoulding*, as shown in (30).

The analysis of the 63 cartoons which target Conservative leadership reveals that the source domain of MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION underlies 11 cartoons, mainly in the 1997 and 2001-2005 sections, when Conservative leadership was questioned after electoral defeats. Cartoonists usually map a negative political situation as lack of control over physical movement or even lack of movement, often depicted through an accident scenario where the Conservative candidate is injured or unable to move (5 instances). In 12 cartoons, the distinctive features of animals are mapped onto

politicians. This is not surprising, since Brookes' popular *Nature Notes* are part of the corpus. However, the reliance on this source domain confirms what Kleparsky (1990) and Kyeltika and Kleparsky (2005) call *zoosemy*, the process through which certain animal categories are used to characterise human qualities and behaviours. *Zoosemy* is an essential tool for the conceptualisation of leadership in the Conservative Party. As pointed out by Crespo-Fernández (2015), *zoosemy* is closely related to the process of semantic pejoration since the identification with animals is normally used to degrade people through the depiction of undesirable human characteristics and habits.

In eight cartoons, Thatcher's influence is conveyed by MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION and CLOTHING metaphors (hats and shoes). In one cartoon, she is depicted as the incarnation of Beaudicca, guiding her ranks to political battle, or as an appearance in dreams, affecting the coalition. In this sense, it seems clear that the influence of Margaret Thatcher on the subsequent Conservative leaders is remarkable, and so has been its coverage by the British press, as illustrated by her presence in political cartoons 20 years after she ceased to be the Prime Minister<sup>31</sup>. Her distinctive way of speaking, look and political ideology made her one of the most featured figures in 20<sup>th</sup> century politics, and therefore in political cartooning, especially in the UK.

In contrast, the rest of Conservative leaders are portrayed as mere followers, incapable of imbuing the party with new ideological principles, or in the case of Cameron, as someone who may adopt Thatcherite principles at his own convenience, because it may ensure his political survival, as seen in figure 42. The case of Michael Howard deserves a special mention, since his consistent depiction as a political Dracula from 1997 to 2005 in *The Times* indicates the inability of the Conservative Party to remould itself until the arrival of David Cameron.

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<sup>31</sup> <http://foreignpolicy.com/2013/04/09/margaret-thatchers-legacy-in-political-cartoons>.

## 3.2.CONCEPTUALISATION OF ECONOMIC ISSUES

This section is concerned with the conceptualisation of the economic issues which were relevant for the party during the years the general elections took place in the manifestos launched by the Conservative Party and the editorial cartoons in the British conservative press. Subsections 3.2.1.1., 3.2.2.1, 3.2.3.1. and 3.2.4.1. deal with the metaphorical representation of economic issues in the Conservative manifestos from 1997 to 2015. We analyse the four sections of the corpus in search for patterns which may explain political allegiances or differences in conceptualisation which might account for ideological changes within the party. Subsections 3.2.1.2., 3.2.2.2., 3.2.3.2. and 3.2.4.2. look at the four sections of the cartoon corpus in order to find the metaphors employed by the press to represent the economic proposals made by the Conservative Party.

### 3.2.1. The 1997 section

#### *3.2.1.1. Conceptualisation of economic issues in the 1997 section of the manifesto corpus*

In all, 75 different lexical units have been found to be metaphorically used in the 1997 manifestos regarding economic issues. In terms of source domains, the most pervasive ones are those of MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION, GAMES AND SPORT (12 different lexical items each) and WAR AND CONFLICT, (13 different lexical units metaphorically used).

As commented on the leadership section above, metaphors from the source domain of MOVEMENT are frequent in the 1997 section of the manifesto corpus. This is hardly surprising since metaphors drawing on the domain of journey are pervasive in politics, as they help conceptualise actions in politics as a journey in which travellers advance towards a destination (Charteris-Black, 2004: 93). They imply a sense of common endeavour in the consecution of a shared goal and serve, at the same time, as

direction signs providing coherence to political discourse. Besides, there are political reasons which may account for their pervasiveness, as we will see below.

The general JOURNEY metaphor PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELLING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION (Lakoff, 1993) is here applied to economic affairs and is thus expressed as ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IS TRAVELLING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION. The destination of the economic journey proposed by the Conservatives was prosperity or the achievement of higher productivity in the economic sectors. In our corpus, economic targets such as ‘low inflation’, ‘budget balance’ and ‘taxation’ collocate with terms from this source domain:

- (40) We are on target *to reach our goal* of 2.5% inflation this year.
- (41) That means we can reduce the amount government borrows too, and meet our aim of *moving towards a balanced budget* in the medium term.
- (42) We will cut the small companies rate of corporation tax in line with personal taxation as *we move towards* a 20p basic rate.

These economic goals echo Thatcher’s policies and, as Major was a member of her Cabinet, they remained the same. In fact, as pointed out by Bale (2011: 40), Saatchi & Saatchi, which was the Tories’ advertising agency for the fourth consecutive election in 1997, indicated the main issues upon which the election was to be fought, and chose taxation as one of the central topics of the campaign. This is to be interpreted as the party’s continuation of Thatcher’s neoliberal policies.

A particular JOURNEY metaphor encountered in the 1997 corpus is CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS MOVING FORWARD. Its nine instantiations provide linguistic evidence of the conceptualisation of economic management as a journey in terms of movement in space rather than in terms of progression through time into the future, which was identified as a distinctive feature of conservative manifestos during the Thatcher years (Charteris-Black, 2004: 74–75). An instance of this metaphor is presented in (43):

- (43) *We have come a very long way.* We must be sure that we do not throw away what we have gained, or lose the opportunities we have earned.

The authors of the manifestos show the Labour party as unable to manage economic affairs, as opposed to the Conservative economic policy, which was not only aimed at reaching a destination, but also *pushed forward* towards the achievement of prosperity. This is made explicit by John Major in the foreword of the manifesto, allowing for a contrast between the Conservative and the Labour policies, a feature of Thatcher's rhetoric (Charteris-Black, 2005).

Within this JOURNEY scenario, it is logical to find elements that work as obstacles to reaching the destination, i.e. the goals set by the Conservatives. In the 1997 corpus, these elements are regulation, taxation and state interference, all of them closely related to Labour. As expected, the main targets of Conservative criticism are taxation and state intervention via excessive regulation, which contrast with the liberal policies adopted by the party since the Thatcher times. Regulation and taxes are conceptualised here as obstacles which impede the achievement of prosperity, and the state is understood as a potential obstacle to wealth creators – individuals according to Thatcherism, as exemplified in (44) and (45):

- (44) For enterprise to flourish, the *state must get out of the way* of the wealth creators.

- (45) We will continue to reduce *the burden of capital gains tax* and inheritance tax as it is prudent to do so.

Following the liberalism and *laissez-faire* policies advocated by the Conservative governments in the 1980s, the solution to overcome the obstacles in the management of the economy is privatisation. This is conceptualised in the manifesto through the use of 'pioneer', to highlight the risky but innovative political positions adopted by earlier Conservative governments. This point is made in order to emphasise how the Government can efficiently achieve the implication of private sector –to be understood



here as a metonymy for entrepreneurs, in economic sectors where companies were previously run by the state, which is metonymically referred to as ‘public purse’.

- (46) We have *pioneered* new ways of building partnerships that engage the private sector in areas previously dependent on the public purse.

Another prominent source domain in the 1997 manifesto is that of WAR AND CONFLICT. CONFLICT metaphors are a very common strategy in Thatcherite rhetoric (Fairclough, 1989; Charteris-Black, 2005), since they allow for the polarisation of views, thus generating a confrontation of ideas, creating an ‘us vs. them’.

In line with this, the analysis reveals the relevance of a typical metaphorical conceptualisation in Thatcherism: THE ECONOMY IS CONFLICT. Examples (47) and (48) encode an ideologically loaded metaphor, which signals socialism and industrial relations as enemies identified with Labour, in an attempt to remind the audience of the events that led to the deep economic and institutional crisis known as the ‘Winter of Discontent’<sup>32</sup>. This crisis paved the way for the first of Thatcher’s electoral victories in 1979.

- (47) The Conservative administrations elected since 1979 are among the most successful in British peacetime history. A country once the sick man of Europe has become its most successful economy. A country *once brought to its knees* by over-mighty trade unions now has *industrial peace*.

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<sup>32</sup> The ‘Winter of discontent’ was a period in British politics characterised by widespread industrial strikes in public sectors during the winter of 1978-1979.

<https://www.britac.ac.uk/audio/‘winter-discontent’-british-politics>

(48) The free market is *winning the battle of ideas* the world over.

Within the WAR domain, negatively evaluated economic phenomena are conceptualised as enemies which deprive economic agents from freedom, a key element in economic neoliberalism. The economic agents are metaphorically understood as hostages, unable to move or act:

(49) It has taken tough decisions *to break free* from our reputation as a high inflation economy.

(50) The enterprising virtues of the British people have been *liberated* from the dead hand of the state.

In (50) the idea of business as hostages is supported by a personalisation of the state, whose negative influence is understood thanks to the expression “dead hand of the state”, in clear reference of the bureaucratic procedures and social benefits. Since inflation is considered to be the main danger for the British economy, it is hardly surprising that it is metaphorically viewed as an enemy, as shown in (49). After 20 years of Thatcherite governments, the Conservative Party still represents inflation as something out of control. This can be viewed as an attempt to avoid taking responsibility for endemic problems in the British economic system from the times of the Lawson Boom<sup>33</sup> in the ‘80s.

(51) We have *broken free* from a trend in which the rest of Europe is still *trapped*.

The source domain of WAR AND CONFLICT interplays with the domain of GAMES AND SPORT. SPORT metaphors activate the metaphor THE ECONOMY IS COMPETITION. It is noticeable that CONFLICT and SPORT metaphors make up for nearly a third of the

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<sup>33</sup> The Lawson boom exemplified the 'boom and bust' economic cycle. In the late 1980s there was a period of fast economic expansion thanks to policies aiming at the rise in house prices, tax cuts and lower interest rates. However, the boom produced inflation and increased the UK's account deficit. Further information on Thatcher's policies can be consulted at <http://econ.economicshelp.org/2008/01/lawson-boom-of-late-1980s.html>.

metaphors in this section. This shows the heavy reliance of Conservative strategists on these domains. Apparently, this follows the line traced by Thatcher's rhetorical style, mainly based on antithetic metaphors motivated by a discourse of conflict (Charteris-Black, 2005: 98).

When it comes to the conceptualisation of global economy, Conservative rhetoric resorted to GAMES AND SPORT metaphors, as illustrated in (52):

(52) *Competitive* markets demand high skills.

We found 33 tokens of the metaphorical use of the headword 'competition' (or a derived form), which reveals its higher frequency as compared with the other manifestos. The conceptual metaphor INTERNATIONAL MARKETS ARE ARENAS describes European economic sectors. Consequently, foreign companies are conceptualised as *competitors*, and achieving a large number of orders is *winning*, as exemplified in (53):

(53) For the first time this century we face a world full of capitalist *competition*.  
The only way Britain will be able to *compete and win in* world markets is by sticking to the Conservative policies that are delivering success.

The domain of PLANTS is also used to conceptualise the economy. Terms such as 'seedcorn' and 'flourish' encode the conceptual metaphor THE ECONOMY IS A PLANT. In (54–56) individuals reap benefits and businesses are considered to be the *seedcorns* of the economy:

(54) People are *reaping* the rewards of their hard work as their take home pay increases.

(55) Governments do not create jobs. Businesses do. The source of tomorrow's jobs will be small businesses, the seedcorn of Britain's prosperity.

- (56) For enterprise to *flourish*, the state must get out of the way of the wealth creators.

GROWTH metaphors are commonly used in the conceptualisation of economic issues (White, 2003) and are recurrent in the 1997 manifesto. For classification purposes, metaphorically used lexical items conveying the sense of physical development were all allocated to the source domain of HEALTH AND ILLNESS. For example, after 13 years of Conservative governments, the British economy is said to have grown (16 instances), ‘thrive’ (four instances).

- (57) The UK is on course to *grow* faster than both France and Germany for the sixth successive year in 1998 - a post-war record.

- (58) Inflation has to be kept firmly under control for an economy to *thrive*.

The use of metaphors from the source domains of PLANTS and HEALTH AND ILLNESS is consistent with Thatcherite rhetoric (Fairclough, 2000). HEALTH metaphors help in the evaluation of concepts as positive or negative, generating a polarisation of views in the reader. THE ECONOMY IS A PLANT metaphor is used to emphasise the results of Conservative economic policies, mainly in the form of privatisation programmes which were started by Thatcher and continued throughout Major’s government. The representation of small business, run by entrepreneurs, as ‘seedcorn’ is even more ideologically driven, since it reflects the emphasis placed by economic liberalism on individuals as the genesis of the economic process, which is consistent with Thatcher’s ideology.

Table 13 shows the main source domains used in the economic section of the 1997 manifesto, together with the lexical items which instantiate them and the number of tokens.

<b>SOURCE DOMAIN</b>	<b>METAPHOR</b>	<b>LEXICAL UNIT</b>
WAR & CONFLICT	ECONOMY IS CONFLICT	<i>free</i> (15), <i>revolution</i> (3) <i>protect</i> (3), <i>fight</i> (3)
GAMES & SPORT	ECONOMY IS A COMPETITION	<i>lead</i> (5), <i>win</i> (5), <i>competition</i> (3), <i>competitive</i> (3)
MOVEMENT & DIRECTION	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	<i>open</i> (10), <i>burden</i> (8), <i>course</i> (4), <i>lead</i> (3), <i>way</i> (2)
HEALTH & ILLNESS	ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM/ INSTITUTIONS ARE ORGANISMS	<i>grow</i> (16), <i>stifle</i> (3), <i>stimulate</i> (3), <i>strong</i> (2)
MONEY & ECONOMIC TRANSACTIONS	PUBLIC SERVICES ARE PRODUCTS	<i>partnership</i> (11), <i>purse</i> (1), <i>stagnation</i> (1), <i>surplus</i> (1)

Table 13. Metaphorical conceptualisation of economic issues in the 1997 section of the manifesto corpus.

### *3.2.1.2. Conceptualisation of economic issues in the 1997 section of the cartoon corpus*

The 1997 section of the cartoon corpus contains 11 cartoons devoted to economic issues. They are closely related to European issues, since the most important aspect of the 1997 general election was the European Monetary Union (EMU), which after all was a technical economic issue. It eventually led to the creation of the Euro. Thus, economic issues, measures or proposals during the campaign were related to this issue and the corruption scandal known as ‘sleaze’<sup>34</sup>.

The cartoons draw from several scenarios and instantiating metaphors from different source domains. Three cartoons evoke a game scenario. Another cartoon depicts a sporting activity – hunting, and the rest evoke artistic or gardening scenarios.

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<sup>34</sup> [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/politics/vote\\_2005/basics/4393323.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/vote_2005/basics/4393323.stm)

In the cartoon drawn by Garland for *The Telegraph* in 1997 (figure 46) we see a stereotypical British man in a suit and a hat wearing glasses, a feature that may identify him as Major or Hogg, the Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food from 1995 to 1997, who was a controversial member of the Cabinet due to his expenses and the management of the BSE crisis – also known as the mad cow disease, in Britain<sup>35</sup>. In the cartoon, the man is walking across a wine yard – the soil looks drier than a typical British field. He is carrying a bag with the words ‘PUBLIC SPENDING ON BRITISH AGRICULTURE’ written on it. He seems to take notes out of the bag and spread them around the field. Given that wine yards are not a prototypical element of British agriculture, the image should be interpreted in relation with European countries where wine production is significant, such as France, Spain or Italy. The fields need irrigation, so it activates the conceptual metaphor THE ECONOMY IS A PLANT. British money is conceptualised as the water that irrigates the fields. At the same time, the curved lines perpendicular to the direction the man is walking indicate wind blowing and making the notes drift away. By showing a stereotypical British man irrigate foreign fields with money that comes from British agriculture, the cartoonist is very critical about the way the Government spends public money, implying that it is not being used in British agriculture.

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<sup>35</sup> <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/370863.stm>



Figure 46. Garland's cartoon about the Agricultural Minister policy. *The Daily Telegraph*, 1997 (exact date unavailable).

The second cartoon was also drawn by Garland (figure 47) and published in January 1997, five months before the general election. It features a seafare scene in which Michael Portillo, at the time Secretary of State for Defence, is saluting on a paper ship which is strikingly small. The ship is seemingly made of newspapers cut-outs, and the news 'TORY ELECTION PLANS' and 'GOVT. SPENDING CUTS' can be read. On the left-hand side of the image there is an oversized periscope. Its size fulfils the function of showing a pair of eyes that remind us of those used by the Conservative Party to depict Tony Blair, which visually cue the target of the cartoon, namely the billboard containing Blair's face with stripped out eyes replaced by evil eyes, used by the Conservative Party in the run up to the 1997 general election (figure 48). The periscope stands for a submarine, and the eyes stand for Blair in PART-WHOLE metonymies. We thus see the image of Blair on a submarine preying on the Conservatives, who rely on their economic proposals, namely 'LOW TAXES' and 'GOVT. SPENDING CUTS' to win a new majority in Parliament, conceptualised as (paper) battleship, heading towards their destination, which may well be the electoral 'battle'.



Figure 47. Garland's cartoon about Labour's 'New Danger'. *The Daily Telegraph*, 28 January 1997.



Figure 48. Original campaign billboard launched by the Conservative Party in January 1997.

The metaphor GENERAL ELECTION IS A SEA BATTLE has the following entailments:



- MICHAEL PORTILLO IS THE COMMANDER OF THE SHIP.
- THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY IS A PAPERSHIP
- TONY BLAIR IS THE COMMANDER OF THE SUBMARINE.
- THE LABOUR PARTY IS A SUBMARINE.

The representation of the Conservative Party as a paper ship is to be interpreted as the author's view of the weakness of the party before the 1997 general election. Garland draws upon a war scenario to portray Blair as a stalking and preying danger, thus profiling the metaphor POLITICS IS CONFLICT, from which several entailments are derived. More specifically, the scenario the cartoonist depicts is the Battle of the Atlantic, an event in World War II. In this episode groups of German submarines – known as 'Wolf packs' – hunted convoys of cargo ships sent from America transporting supplies to the UK in order to ease the war effort in Europe. Thus, the submarine in the cartoon is likened to a Nazi submarine. The government's economic measures and some issues such as the expenses on the new royal yacht (as seen on Portillo's head) are the cargo fleet with supplies the British people, and the action of winning the general election is featured here as preying on a ship.

Although Garland apparently criticises New Labour's electoral strategy, there is also criticism of Conservative measures. The battleship, conceptualising economic measures is made of paper, thus mapping the fragility of the Conservative Party and its hopes of winning the 1997 general election. As Garnett and Lynch (2003: 1) remark:

The Conservatives' reputation for party unity, sound economic management and governing competence had been shattered by the travails of the Major government – notably divisions on Europe, sterling's exit from the Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) and 'sleaze'.

The cartoon shown in figure 49 was also drawn by Garland for *The Daily Telegraph*. The author relies on a mythical scenario, as he depicts Clarke, the Chancellor of the Exchequer at the time, as Ceres, the Roman earth goddess of agriculture and abundance framed by classical metopes, which metonymically cue the classical era. The visual

representation of Clarke as Ceres is verbally supported by the caption that reads “Cornucopia: Ceres is drawn with a ram’s horn in her left arm, filled with fruit and flowers ...”. The horn s/h is holding contains the sentence: “PAY RISES TO GO AHEAD” and a sign with the words “...BUT PHASED” on it. These words are to be understood in relation with Clarke’s rictus, which expresses worry (RESULT FOR ACTION metonymy).

The cartoon is an interpretation of Clarke’s announcement in Parliament of a new package of economic measures to increase wages, which would be implemented in different stages. This was the last of a set of measures announced in the second semester of 1996<sup>36</sup>, which intended to show that the British economy was improving. The politician’s facial expression of worry reveals the cartoonist’s scepticism. This is not the only instance of Garland’s use of mythical scenarios to criticise Conservative policies.



Figure 49. Garland’s portrayal of Kenneth Clarke as Ceres. *The Daily Telegraph*, 7 February 1997.

<sup>36</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/1996/nov/27/past.budget2005>.

Finally, three cartoons evoke game scenarios and instantiate metaphors from the source domain of MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION. In figure 50, Major is giving a speech with his distinctive arm gesture (up and down movements). Behind him there is a banner which reads “BRITAIN IS BOOMING”, suggesting that, under Major, the Conservatives were trying to regain their reputation as good economic managers. However, in the second part of the cartoon, we see that the stand where he is giving the speech is actually a surprise pack with a toy that pops up and sends Major away. In the toy hat we read “SINGLE CURRENCY”, thus featuring the euro as a problem for Britain’s economic performance. The fact that Major is sent away activates the metaphor LACK OF POLITICAL CONTROL IS LACK OF CONTROL OVER MOVEMENT, which is reflected in three cartoons in this section.



Figure 50. Garland’s cartoon about Britain’s economic situation. *The Daily Telegraph*, 16 April 1997.

On the whole, in the 1997 economic sections of both corpora, the Conservative Party heavily relies on the domains of WAR AND CONFLICT and GAMES AND SPORT. 23 lexical units are metaphorically used to conceptualise the economy. There is also evidence of the metaphorical understanding of economic issues as plants (2 lexical units). Interestingly, out of the ten cartoons, two portray a war scenario, two depict a

mythical scenario, one reflects the conceptual metaphor THE ECONOMY IS A PLANT, two draw on CREATION metaphors and three show the economic situation in terms of MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION.

### **3.2.2. The 2001-2005 section**

#### *3.2.2.1. Conceptualisation of economic issues in the 2001-2005 section of the manifesto corpus*

After its electoral defeat in 1997 the Conservative Party went through a renewal process, since there was seemingly no point in clinging to Thatcherism<sup>37</sup>. The 1997-2005 period was characterised by electoral defeats, followed by leadership contests which made candidates attempt to relocate the party both ideologically and linguistically since, as pointed out by Fairclough (2000), New Labour, by that time at its height, adopted themes and discourse features that were typical of conservative political discourse in its commitment to neo-liberal policies, thus gaining the political centre ground. Subsequently, the Conservative Party was left without political ground on economic matters and after 13 years of government, was considered to be “out of touch” (Bale, 2011: 83).

In the 2001-2005 section of the linguistic corpus a total number of 23 metaphorically used lexical units were identified. Again, WAR AND CONFLICT (13 lexical units, and GAMES AND SPORTS (9 lexical items) are the most relevant domains. Indeed, the most recurrent conceptual metaphor is THE ECONOMY IS CONFLICT, which subsumes the metaphor LABOUR POLICIES as ENEMIES, which can be seen in (59) and (60):

- (59) Yet the common sense wisdom of the mainstream majority, on crime, or on taxes, or the family, or on Europe, is *under threat* as never before.

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<sup>37</sup> [http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/modern/thatcherism\\_01.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/modern/thatcherism_01.shtml)

- (60) We will keep the pound. Labour's plan for early entry into the euro is *the single biggest threat to our economic stability*.

In the examples above, Labour policies, including public expenditure programmes, the entry into the single currency or higher taxation, attack the economy and even people's common sense. As a matter of fact, the title of the 2001 manifesto was *Time for Common Sense* and the 2005 manifesto was called *It's Time for Action*. Decisive action on the side of both the Conservatives and the Labour government is equated with 'raids', which are interpreted as an attempt to empathise with core conservative voters by relying on the Thatcherite rhetorical strategies which managed to relieve taxation and reduce the size of the estate by privatising public companies, whose level of expenditure was unbearable for the treasury<sup>38</sup>. The rhetorical strategy of negatively evaluating public spending is carried out through the instantiation of the metaphor PUBLIC SPENDING IS AN ENEMY. This is seen in (61):

- (61) By *going to war* on waste and ending ineffective public spending programmes, we will achieve three simple aims.

An increase in public spending usually leads to a tax increase. This is criticised through the conceptual metaphor INCREASING TAXATION IS ATTACKING.

- (62) Hard-working families have suffered from Labour's tax *raids* on mortgages and marriage, pensions and petrol, buying a home and having a job.

As earlier mentioned, the reliance on terms from the source domain of WAR

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<sup>38</sup> During the Thatcher times national companies such as Jaguar, British Telecom and British Petroleum were sold off. This privatisation policy continued under Major and the New Labour government attempted a major privatisation campaign which affected Air Traffic Control, schools and certain NHS services. For a brief history of privatisation in Britain, visit:  
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/mar/29/short-history-of-privatisation>.

conveys determination. However, in the example above, the term ‘raids’ also fulfils a derogative function since it involves aggressiveness and speed.

Once again, SPORT metaphors (9) are used to express economic success in the global market. As in the 1997 corpus, economic competition is achieved through low taxation and regulation, activating the conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS COMPETITION. Specifically, the collocation of ‘ahead’ with ‘advantage’ (2 hits in the corpus), instantiates the conceptualisation of economic management as a race.

- (63) Britain *has been ahead of the field* in the information economy because we created an environment of low taxes and light regulation. But now we are losing that *advantage* fast.

It is worth noting that economic issues are not only understood in terms of war and sport. In the 2005 manifesto, the metaphors GOOD GOVERNANCE IS CREATION in which LOW TAXATION IS A LIFE FORCE, instantiating the conceptual metaphor GOOD GOVERNANCE IS CREATION are also present (64–65).

- (64) It *creates* the jobs we all depend on – enabling families to build their financial independence.

- (65) Lower taxes *promote* enterprise and growth. But they also *promote* the right values.

HEALTH AND ILLNESS metaphors are also manifested in the 2001-2005 section, where 11 lexical items are used for economic purposes. They are based upon the conceptual key (Charteris-Black, 2004) THE ECONOMY IS A LIVING BEING. As already mentioned, the communicative potential of this type of metaphor lies in its ability to create a contrast based on polarisation. The conceptual metaphor manifested here is the ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM.

LABOUR POLICY IS A DISEASE, normally identified with taxation, is then the logical entailment. Labour policy causes pain to contributors. In contrast, Conservative policy is seen as a medicine that relieves that pain:

(66) This meddling and interfering [Labour] Government is eroding our freedoms as well as *weakening the institutions* that give us a sense of common purpose

(67) We will *slim down* the DTI and improve its effectiveness for business.

(68) Tax *relief* on Approved Share Options

The pervasiveness of this metaphor indicates the importance given to taxation by the party. This corroborated by the number of hits of the lemma “tax” in the corpora: whereas the 1997 section contains 82 words with that lemma, the 2001-2005 contains 95 hits, most of which occur in the 2001 manifesto. This is consistent with Bale’s (2011: 202–203) claim:

Howard’s assumption of the Tory leadership, then, did not mean all the Party’s policy problems disappeared, let alone that it would move swiftly to distance itself from either its recent or its ancient past.

Metaphors from the source domain of MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION had two instantiations, ‘advance’ and ‘burden’ which appear with the taxes and regulations to represent them as burdens for business.

(69) So a Conservative Government will cut the *burden* of regulation and free businesses to serve their customers rather than serving their regulators.

In the 2001-2005 section the source domain of RELIGION AND ETHICS is more relevant than in the 1997 section. Taxes are shaped as a punishment in order to empathise with conservative voters. Other metaphors convey an evaluation of what is right or wrong. It is the case of the metaphor WORTHWILE VITAL ACTIVITIES ARE

RIGHTFUL ACTIONS. Conservatives positively evaluate attitudes such as personal endeavour (work hard), ownership (buying a house and subsequently contributing for it) and responsibility (for families). ‘Reward’ retrieves 9 hits in the 2001-2005 section of the corpus, Labour Government is represented as a *punisher* (71).

(70) Instead of *rewarding* families who do the *right thing*, work hard and pay their taxes, Mr Blair’s Government takes them for granted

(71) We will govern on behalf of the forgotten majority and their values, the people who make up the backbone of our country: people who work hard; save to buy their first home; take responsibility for their families. People who do the *right thing* should be *rewarded*, not *punished*.

In the 2001-2005 section, BUILDING metaphors interplay with MOVEMENT metaphors, in this section they interact with HEALTH AND ILLNESS and CREATION metaphors:

(72) Value for Money and Lower Taxes

A strong economy is the *foundation* for everything we do. It *provides* higher living standards so that people can look to the future with optimism. It *creates* the jobs we all depend on – enabling families to *build* their financial independence. It should guarantee our pensions in old age. It provides a *safety net* for the least fortunate.

The heading in (72) combines neo-liberal with conservative elements. It echoes the ‘value for money’ theme common in Thatcher’s rhetoric.

The conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS A BUILDING illustrates the importance given to economic performance by the Conservative Party, whose economic policy in 1992 had undermined people’s reliance on sound economic performance, in contrast with the sound economic performance of New Labour. The sentence “It *creates* the jobs we all depend on – enabling families to *build* their financial independence. It should



guarantee our pensions in old age” activates the metaphor FINANCIAL INDEPENDENCE IS A STRUCTURE. This is related to the ‘compassionate conservatism’ approach adopted by Hague at the beginning of his leadership stint<sup>39</sup>. This was, as Bale (Bale, 2011: 133) claims, an attempt to put some “clear blue water” between the Conservatives and the neo-liberal Labour party, which had adopted Thatcherite policies. Therefore, by adopting a populist approach, the party did not only intend to detach itself from pro-competition Thatcherite views, but also empathised with voters. This new approach also showed in editorial cartoons, as exemplified in figure 51 below.

Between 2001 and 2005 the Conservative Party from basically relied on the economic tenets and strategies from the previous era. The manifestos draw on the same source domains as in 1997. Table 14 presents the main source domains and metaphors underlying the manifestos and their lexical instantiations.

SOURCE DOMAIN	METAPHOR	LEXICAL UNIT
WAR & CONFLICT	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	<i>strategy</i> (4), <i>discipline</i> (2) <i>threat</i> (2), <i>inflict</i> (1), <i>damage</i> (1)
HEALTH & ILLNESS	ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM/ INSTITUTIONS ARE ORGANISMS	<i>relief</i> (4), <i>growth</i> (3), <i>strong</i> (3), <i>grow</i> (2),
GAMES & SPORT	ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT IS COMPETITION	<i>competitiveness</i> (3) <i>competition</i> (3) <i>lead</i> (2), <i>advantage</i> (2)
MACHINES & TOOLS	ECONOMY IS A MACHINE/ CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS A CUTTING DEVICE	<i>cut</i> (6), <i>boost</i> (1), <i>safety net</i> (1)
BUILDINGS & CONSTRUCTION	ECONOMY IS A BUILDING / COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	<i>build</i> (2), <i>stable</i> (2), <i>foundation</i> (1), <i>framework</i> (1)

Table 14. Metaphorical conceptualisation of economic issues in the 2001-2005 section of the manifesto corpus.

<sup>39</sup> <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/hague-lets-reclaim-compassion-from-left-711047.html>

### *3.2.2.2. Conceptualisation of economic issues in the 2001-2005 section of the cartoon corpus*

The 2001-2005 section of the cartoon corpus relies on historical events to represent British economic issues. The UK's economy was striving<sup>40</sup> after 5 years of New Labour. However, the Tories felt that some aspects of economic management could help them to regain power. In contrast, only 6 cartoons concern economic issues in this period. Three of them portray a scenario based on British cultural elements.

The cartoon shown in figure 51 is set in a forest and depicts the 1997-2001 leader of the Conservative Party, William Hague, together with Michael Portillo and Ann Widdecombe, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Secretary of State for Home Department, respectively, in the shadow cabinet in 2001. They are dressed in medieval fashion. Hague is facing them, dressed in a similar way. The caption reads: "WE'LL GIVE TO THE POOR AND WE'LL GIVE TO THE RICH". The verbal element evokes the legend of Robin Hood, which tells the adventures of a legendary English outlaw of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, who was known for robbing the rich to give to the poor. Robin Hood, who lived in the Sherwood Forest near Nottingham and had a band of followers, is a symbol of courage, generosity and justice. The caption seems to be a reinterpretation of what Robin Hood used to do. It represents the electoral commitment of the Conservative 'band' to win the 2001 general election. The cartoonist means to show the Conservatives' notion of justice through the metaphor DELIVERING JUSTICE IS GIVING MONEY. By doing so he does not only highlight the Conservatives' focus on monetary issues, but also the uselessness of the proposal, since giving public money away is something totally opposed to sound economic management.

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<sup>40</sup> <http://archive.spectator.co.uk/article/2nd-june-2001/36/what-the-tories-must-fear-most-is-that-the-voters->



Figure 51. Garland's cartoon about Conservatives' economic solutions. *The Daily Telegraph*, 11 May 2001.

The image may also be interpreted as a piece of criticism of the party's ideology under the leadership of Hague, after he met the Republican Party on a trip to America and spoke of 'compassionate conservatism' (Ashbee, 2003: 43–44). The notion of giving money to 'the poor' is alien to the Conservative traditional ideology of fostering individuality while cutting expenses on social matters. At the same time, they tried to stick to their economically powerful bases.

In figure 52 we can see a typical plotting scene in ancient Rome. In the background we can identify Prime Minister Blair and Chancellor Brown in tunics while heading out of the Roman Senate. In the foreground, behind a column, we can identify William Hague wearing a dagger in an attempt to kill them. The caption, "THE IDES OF MARCH", provides the clue to the scene: it is reminiscent of the assassination of Julius Caesar, which took place at the theatre of Pompey on the ides of March<sup>41</sup> 44 BC,

<sup>41</sup> From that day on, the ides of March signified infamy for the Roman society. For a review on how the meaning of the ides of March changed, visit:

[http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2004/03/0311\\_040311\\_idesmarch.html](http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2004/03/0311_040311_idesmarch.html)

according to the Roman calendar, which corresponds to 15 March in the Gregorian Calendar. There is a club about to hit Hague's head from behind, on which "UNEMPLOYMENT FIGURES" can be read. Since employment figures are part of the economic section, it instantiates the etaphor, while the club and the words provide the respective source and target of the conceptual metaphor LABOUR POLICY IS A POLITICAL WEAPON. This metaphor is the logical entailment of POLITICS IS CONFLICT. The cartoonist takes advantage of the scene in which Brutus, Julius Caesar's son, conspires to kill his father. The assassination cannot be executed because the author features the release of unemployment figures in Britain in March as a club to map the effects of such a strike on Hague's head onto his ambitions of ending Blair's government in the upcoming general election.

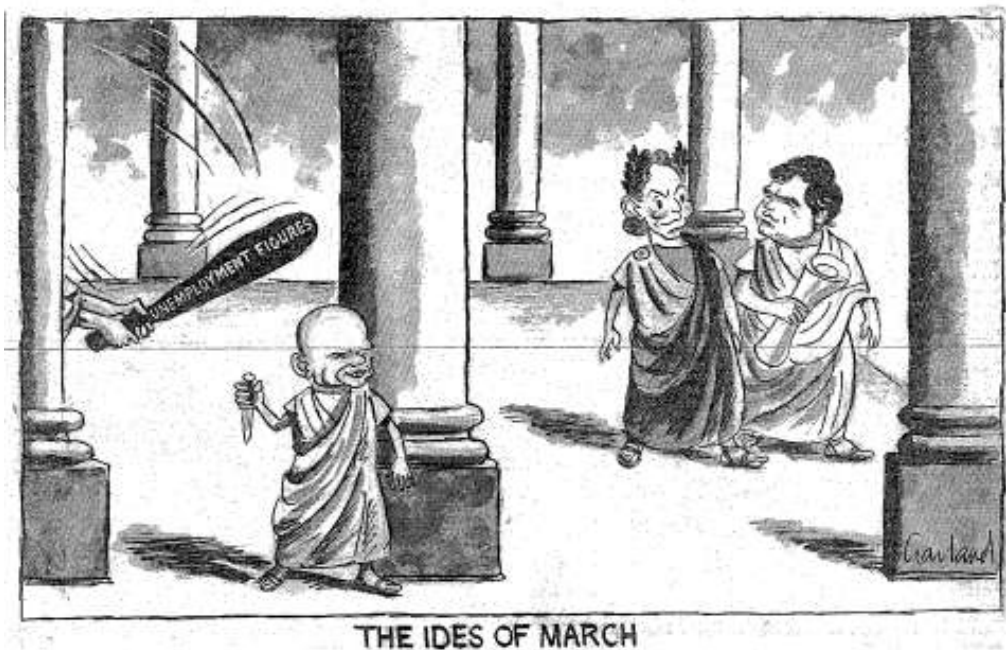


Figure 52. Garland's cartoon about unemployment figures and the Conservative Party. *The Daily Telegraph*, 15 March 2001.

Another interesting example of the representation made by the British press on economic issues is provided by figure 53. We can see a maritime scene in which the faces of the candidates of the Labour Party, the Conservative Party and the Liberal Democrats to the 2001 general election appear behind rocks, waving at an approaching trireme –the standard vessel in ancient Greece characterised by a combination of sail

and rowing lines, as if attracting it to the rocks. On the boat, there is a patched sail on which we can read the words “PUBLIC SERVICES”, the target of the conceptual metaphor PUBLIC SERVICES ARE A SHIP. The caption reads: “SIRENS: MYTHICAL MONSTERS THAT CALLED SAILORS TO THEIR DESTRUCTION BY THE SWEETNESS OF THEIR SONGS”.

The condition of British public services is verbally cued by the patching up of the sail. The three main candidates, Hague being in the centre of the image to indicate his importance, are depicted as sirens, who, according to the legend, sang songs to sailors to lead them to their deaths. This feature is also mapped onto the three politicians as two of them are waving while Hague is calling them, thus cueing the metaphor LAUNCHING PROPOSALS IS SINGING SONGS. Finally, the impending wreckage, as the vessel approaches to the rock, instantiates the metaphor FAILURE OF PUBLIC SERVICES IS A WRECKAGE.

Garland again relies on mythology to feature British politicians and their proposals. He suggests that the politicians’ proposals – probably focused on increasing spending, in line with Robin Hood cartoon above, will ultimately ruin the public services system.

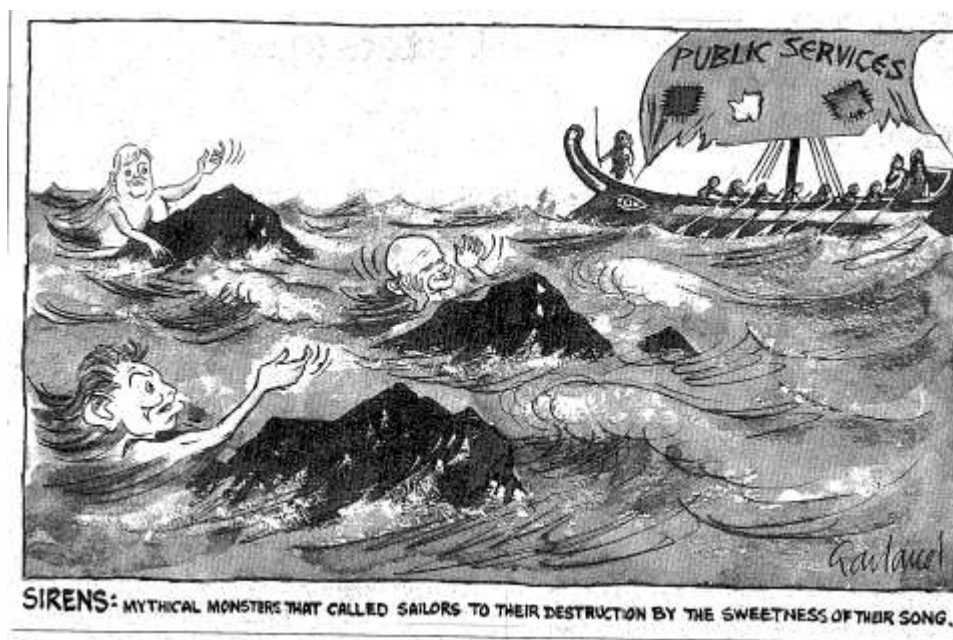


Figure 53. Garland's cartoon about British public services. *The Daily Telegraph*, 31 May 2001.

The next cartoon (figure 54) criticises the Conservative proposals for being unfeasible. It depicts Michael Howard, the 2005 Conservative candidate and Oliver Letwin, the Shadow Cabinet Chancellor of the Exchequer, on a stage. Howard is wearing a smoking and a magic wand. Right behind him there is a table cloth adorned with stars and moons and a hat. All this clearly indicates that he is performing a trick on Oliver Letwin, who is levitating in horizontal position. The metaphorical target is verbally rendered by the note that Letwin is holding in his hand: "LOW TAXES". The image profiles the metaphor LOW TAXES ARE A KIND OF MAGIC. Through this scenario Garland suggests that the Conservative proposal of reducing taxes will not succeed, since it is impossible to make someone levitate.



Figure 54. Garland's cartoon about Conservative proposals about taxation. *The Daily Telegraph*, 18 January 2005.

In the cartoons analysed in this section, there is an even distribution in terms of source domains. Two cartoons use the source domain of MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION to instantiate the metaphors related to lack of movement to map failure regarding economic issues. Two others rely on MONEY AND ECONOMIC TRANSACTIONS and the last two are based on WAR AND CONFLICT and GAMES AND SPORT. In terms of metaphors, we have seen how political cartoonist, represent economic failure representing labour policies as weapons against the Conservative Party, or as unfeasible policies drawing on imaginary scenarios and cultural events performances and the legends of syrens and Robin Hood.

### 3.2.3. The 2010 section

#### 3.2.3.1. *Conceptualisation of economic issues in the 2010 section of the manifesto corpus*

This subsection shows the relation between the metaphorical conceptualisation of economic issues in the 2010 Conservative manifesto and the ideological tenets held by Progressive Conservatism.

As advanced in the introduction, a factor that played a role in the 2010 general election was the financial turmoil that Britain was going through, just like the rest of Europe and the U.S., and which first hit the economy on the third quarter of 2007. The economic malaise of the country was thus one of the foci of attention during the campaign. Since 2005, the Conservative Party, then led by Cameron, had taken a different approach which, under the flag of Progressive Conservatism, was characterised by being more value-oriented and by avoiding specific commitments, in an attempt to win the electoral centre ground (Norton, 2008: 327). The Conservatives won the general election held on 6 May 2010.

In the main document of the 2010 manifesto, nearly a third is concerned with the economy, which indicates the importance given by the Conservative Party to the issue.

Overall this section profiles 82 lexical items, distributed among different source domains. Contrary to what was shown in the previous stages of the party, in the 2010 section of the manifesto corpus the conceptualisation of the economic issues relies on different source domains. Thus, BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION (12 different lexical items activating 26 metaphors), GAMES AND SPORT (10) and HEALTH AND ILLNESS (9 different lexical items instantiating 36 metaphors) are also the most prolific ones in terms of instantiations. Other source domains accounted for less than 10% of metaphors.

The most common instantiations of HEALTH AND ILLNESS metaphors in this section are ‘growth’ (24 tokens), ‘recovery’ (14 tokens) and ‘relief’ (7 tokens). The overarching metaphor is THE ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM (White, 2003). As Charteris-Black (2005: 100) remarks, “it seems that the power of health metaphors derives from the basic paired set of fundamental human experiences: life and death”. The metaphor THE ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM subsumes three metaphors. The most pervasive one, THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IS A STATE OF PHYSICAL HEALTH, is triggered by the words ‘growth’ and ‘recovery’. These words usually feature the British economy



as an affected participant, and the Conservative Party as an actual agent of the change to come:

(73) A sustainable *recovery* must be driven by *growth* in exports and business investment, and through a better environment for wealth creation.

(74) We will restore the bank's historic role in monitoring the overall *growth* of credit and debt in the economy.

The lexicalisation of the term 'growth' (White, *ibid.*) and its subsequent popularisation in economic language is of great value for Progressive Conservatism, since it is the economic goal of the future government. In the 2010 section, there are 24 instances of 'growth', which represents a significant increase when compared to the previous section (2 in the 1997 section and 8 in the 2001-2005 section). Setting 'growth' as an economic goal allows for the interplay of HEALTH AND ILLNESS metaphors with metaphors from the source domain of MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION and RELIGION AND ETHICS, so that positively evaluated values by the Conservatives such as 'responsibility' are represented as the starting point in a journey, as shown in (75).

(75) Our *belief* in responsibility with public finances is *the starting point* of our plan for economic *recovery* and *growth*.

The reliance on metaphors from the domain of HEALTH AND ILLNESS paves the way for the description of Conservative policies as a medicine (CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS A MEDICINE), as shown in examples (76–78). Conservative policies provide 'relief' or strength, improving the general condition of the state after wrong Labour policies:

- (76) Other measures we will take to encourage saving include: *reinvigorating* occupational pensions and working with employers and industry to support auto-enrolment into pensions.
- (77) [...] when resources allow, starting to *reverse the effects* of the abolition of the dividend tax credit for pension funds.
- (78) A Conservative government will *strengthen* the system of granting student visas so that it is less open to abuse.

HEALTH metaphors are also found to interplay with CREATION AND DESTRUCTION metaphors metaphors, which strengthen their persuasive effects. For example, the metaphor LABOUR POLICY IS DESTRUCTION (5 instances) does not simply shape Labour measures as a disease, but shows them as causing the destruction of a positively evaluated economic goal:

- (79) These actions will allow us to reduce the deficit more quickly than Labour year- on-year while avoiding the most *damaging* part of their jobs tax.

New Labour policies are negatively evaluated in terms of death, whereas Conservative views and actions are positively evaluated since they improve health and even provide life. The opposite metaphor, GOOD GOVERNING IS CREATING (8 occurrences), is triggered by the verb ‘create’ applied to Conservative policies (80). Charteris-Black (2005: 107) described the basic evaluation scale provided by life and death metaphors as “mythic archetypes that evaluate human experience as either positive or negative”. Evidence of the link between health and life and death metaphors is provided by the collocation of the keyword ‘kill’ (5 hits) with ‘recovery’:

- (80) Gordon Brown's debt, waste and taxes have *wrecked* the economy and *threaten to kill* the recovery. A Conservative government will take action now

to cut the deficit, stop Labour's jobs tax, help keep mortgage rates low and get the economy moving. We will *create* a new economic model built on investment and savings, not borrowing and debt.

(81) Now, with the national debt already doubled and in danger of doubling again, it is this debt – together with the jobs tax that Labour will introduce to help pay for it – that *threatens to kill* the *recovery*.

(82) Labour are planning to increase National insurance in 2011. Anyone earning over £20,000 will pay more tax, and employers will pay more tax on all jobs paid over £5,700. This jobs tax, which will *hit* small businesses especially hard, will *kill off* the recovery. Experts predict it will cost 57,000 jobs in small and medium-sized businesses alone.

As advanced in the leadership section, other key metaphors to the Progressive Conservative rhetoric are those from the domain of BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION. We encountered 26 BUILDING metaphors, a considerably higher number than in the 1997 and 2001-2005 sections.

Within the context of a thirteen-year New Labour government and the economic turmoil battering the UK since 2008, the Conservative Party was not concerned with the reform of the economic system, but with the construction of a brand new economic model. Thus, its economic programme instantiates the conceptual metaphor THE ECONOMY IS A BUILDING. The new economic model was a de-carbonised model postulated by the Conservative leader Cameron with a view to positioning his party in the forefront of war against climate change, as the slogan “vote blue, go green” confirmed.

(83)        Benchmarks for Britain

For the first time, the British people will have eight clear and transparent benchmarks against which they can judge the economic success or failure of

the next government. We will be accountable and open. These are the eight Benchmarks for Britain. Achieving them over the next Parliament will mean we have put Britain back on its feet and *are building* a new British economic model, very different from the debt-driven economy of recent years.

- (84) *Build* a greener economy: We will reduce UK greenhouse gas emissions and increase our share of global markets for low carbon technologies.

There is a further description of the new economic model in the 2010 section. Like all buildings, it must be located in a safe area, so that the building is stable. Financial stability and low interest rates are conceptualised as the bedrock upon which the new economic building must be erected, as shown in (85):

- (85) The *bedrock* of this new economic model will be the stability and low interest rates that come from a credible plan to reduce our record budget deficit, protect Britain's credit rating and give taxpayers value for their money.

Similarly, investment and savings are metaphorically viewed as the foundations supporting the building of the new British economy, replacing borrowing and financial debt, which constituted the foundations of the economy under New Labour as illustrated in (86):

- (86) Nor will we allow irresponsibility in the private sector to continue unchecked. We will bring law and order to our financial markets as a necessary step to restoring confidence. But the real prize for Britain is to create a new economic model, one *founded on investment and savings not borrowing and debt*. This economic *vision* reflects our belief in enterprise and aspiration. It is a *vision* of a truly modern economy: one that is greener and more local. An economy where Britain leads in science, technology and innovation. But it is *founded on* a determination that wealth and opportunity must be more fairly distributed.

We want to see an economy where not just our standard of living, but everyone's quality of life, rises steadily and sustainably.

Example (86) also features moral determination as foundations of the new British economy within the more general metaphor POLITICS IS RELIGION. The use of this metaphor is a rhetorical device of Progressive Conservatism which mirrors Blair's conviction rhetoric (Charteris-Black, 2005: 142–168). Thus, it seems that the Conservative Party under Cameron drifted towards 'Compassionate Conservatism'<sup>42</sup> (see section 3.2.3), in order to embrace the flag of social justice, one of the identity signs of the New Labour rhetoric.

There is also linguistic evidence of the conceptual metaphor ECONOMIC PHENOMENA ARE STRUCTURES. As in the 1997 section of the corpus, 'savings' are metaphorically framed as something to be built and taken care of, and consequently, as something that may collapse. Work and credit to which access is denied due to complex regulations are negatively evaluated and as a result, must be reformed, if not disposed of:

(87) Household savings *collapsed*, and the UK has the lowest investment as a share of GDP of any G7 country.

(88) We need fundamental *reform* of our failed regulatory system, avoiding *badly-designed* regulations that will damage our competitiveness and ensuring that the financial sector can supply the affordable credit that businesses need.

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<sup>42</sup> In an interview on Jeremy Paxman's *Newsnight*, after the launch of the 2001 manifesto. Hague was directly answered about this allegedly new approach.  
[<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/events/newsnight/1362843.stm>]

Another relevant source domain in the rhetoric of Progressive Conservatism is RELIGION AND ETHICS. However, the rhetorical dressing-up of conservative economic tenets is not only related to religion, since there is evidence in the corpus that one of the rhetorical strategies of Progressive Conservatism is to depict itself as a source of morality by identifying its political positions on the economy with moral values. Although they are not always metaphorical, there are numerous terms related to this source domain metaphorically used in sections dealing with economic issues, such as ‘believe/ belief’, ‘vision’, ‘right’. There is a religion or ethical metaphor in each section of the manifesto, since every political action seemed to reflect a sense of morality.

- (89) We *believe* in responsibility: government responsibility with public finances, personal responsibility for our actions, and social responsibility towards each other. We *believe* in enterprise and aspiration. We believe there is such a thing as society it's just not the same thing as the state. Our fundamental tenet is that power should be devolved from politicians to people, from the central to the local. Personal ambition should be set as high as is humanly possible, with no barriers put in its way by the state. Perhaps most importantly, we believe that we are all in this together.

This domain triggers the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS RELIGION and allows politicians to show their *ethos*. We might then claim that the domain of RELIGION AND ETHICS is especially relevant in the discourse of Progressive Conservatism, since, as Charteris-Black (2005: 103) puts it, “rhetoric becomes persuasive when linguistic choices communicate an underlying value system or *ethos* of the speaker”. Thus, the economic theory advocated by the Conservative Party in the 2010 general election is conceptualised as a ‘belief’, or ‘vision’. The metaphor can be formulated as ECONOMIC IDEAS ARE RELIGIOUS PRECEPTS. Personal values such as responsibility, sound ambition and entrepreneurship are mandatory in economic management.

- (90) The Conservative Party *believes* in lower and simpler taxation.

The expression of this political *ethos* conveys one of the strongest points in the rhetoric of Progressive Conservatism: the blending of the classical right-wing economic management skills with left-wing moral authority. Therefore, as compared with its predecessors, one of the main changes of the approach adopted by Mr Cameron's team since 2005 is the development of a value-oriented discourse. The benefits from this new strategy were clear. On the one hand, the development of an ethical discourse would allow for a reduction of distance between the party and the electorate. This can be illustrated by example (91), where the ethical value of responsibility spreads from the government to ordinary people.

- (91) We *believe* in responsibility: government responsibility with public finances, personal responsibility for our actions, and social responsibility towards each other.

The metaphorical richness of the 2010 manifesto features several metaphors based on reifications. They are meant to describe and explain the economic measures to be taken by a potential Conservative government. The authors of the manifesto drew extensively on the conventional metaphors like MONEY IS A SOLID:

- (92) Over the course of a Parliament, we will *cut* Whitehall policy, funding and regulation costs by a third, saving £2 billion a year, and save a further £1 billion a year from quango bureaucracy.

Another reification metaphor is MARKET BEHAVIOUR IS GAS BEHAVIOUR, a metaphor detected by White (2003) in his study of financial reporting. It occurs in clusters with building metaphors:

- (93) One thing is clear. We can't go on with the old model of an economy built on debt. Irresponsible public spending, an *overblown* banking sector, and unsustainable consumer borrowing on the back of a *housing bubble* were the

features of an age of irresponsibility that left Britain badly exposed to the economic crisis.

- (94) It would ensure families, businesses and the whole British economy are less *exposed to volatile oil markets*, and that there is a more stable environment for low carbon investment.

MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION metaphors are not as frequent in the economic section as they are in other sections and manifestos. However, the analysis revealed a range of metaphors setting a journey scenario in various sections of the manifesto, mostly in the foreword and introduction sections and sections dealing with the encouragement of enterprise and the influence of the private sector in the share of prosperity. One of the JOURNEY metaphors, ECONOMIC RECOVERY/GROWTH IS A DESTINATION, is exemplified in (95):

- (95) We will implement key recommendations from Sir James Dyson's Review into how to *achieve our goal* of making Britain Europe's leading hi-tech exporter, including: encouraging the establishment of joint university- business research and development institutes; initiating a multi-year Science and Research Budget to provide a stable investment climate for Research Councils;

In the 2010 manifesto taxation and regulations are also metaphorically represented as obstacles which impede movement. There are also instances of the conceptual metaphor REGULATIONS ARE OBSTACLES. This metaphor paves the way for the presentation of the opposition of individuals against the state, which is typical in Conservative discourse.

- (96) Personal ambition should be set as high as is humanly possible, with *no barriers put in its way* by the state.



Debt and economic deficit are also understood as obstacles. In (97) debt is a sort of muddy ground which impedes the advancement of the British economy. In other cases debt is viewed as a burden, as in (98).

(97) Britain needs change: few can doubt that. Our national finances are *mired in* massive debt.

(98) The Conservative Party believes in lower and simpler taxation. That is why we will ensure that by far the largest part of the *burden* of dealing with the deficit falls on lower spending rather than higher taxes.

The analysis also displayed a substantial number of metaphors based on personification. We even found examples of intertextuality between the 2010 section and the 1997 section. One of them is instantiated by the metaphor NATIONS ARE PEOPLE, which underlies both Thatcherite and Blair discourse (Fairclough, 2000), as shown in (99):

(99) Achieving them over the next Parliament will mean *we have put Britain back on its feet* and are building a new British economic model, very different from the debt-driven economy of recent years.

WAR AND CONFLICT metaphors generally depict macro-economic issues. To interpret them, it is necessary to draw on Chilton's (1996: 195–197) CONTAINER schema, which outlines boundaries to positively evaluated elements in order to protect British credit rating and macroeconomic stability and to prevent an 'invasion' from external credit ratings, which would endanger the British economic structure. Consequently, these elements often collocate with words implying defensive meaning, such as 'protect' (6 hits) and 'safeguard' (3 hits):

- (100) Ensure macroeconomic stability: We will *safeguard* Britain's credit rating with a credible plan to eliminate the bulk of the structural deficit over a Parliament.
- (101) The independent bank of England will continue to target 2 per cent Consumer Price Index (CPI) inflation, and will use its new role in prudential supervision to *preserve financial stability*.
- (102) So we will cut wasteful government spending to bring the deficit down and *restore* stability.

WEATHER metaphors are based upon the conceptual metaphor ECONOMIC SITUATIONS ARE WEATHER CONDITIONS. A relevant conceptual metaphor is A FAVOURABLE ECONOMIC SITUATION IS STABLE CLIMATE CONDITION.

- (103) We will reform the Climate Change Levy to provide a floor price for carbon, delivering the *right climate for investment* in low carbon energy production.

A further metaphor is BAD ECONOMIC SITUATIONS ARE NATURAL PHENOMENA, implying an evaluation of Labour's policies as natural disasters, is meant to background other the agents in charge of the economic situation.

- (104) This *tidal wave* of worklessness is making it hard for many families to make ends meet.

Although this domain is present in the previous manifestos, it interacts with several source domains in this section. The conceptual metaphor THE ECONOMY IS A MACHINE prevails in section 1.4, *Get Britain Working Again*. It is also manifested in the printed version of the manifesto, which shows a mechanism with Britain's shape (figure 55).

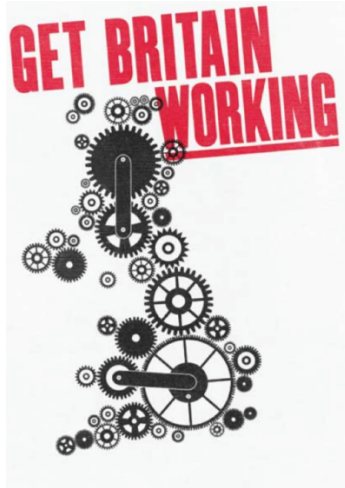


Figure 55. Page 4 of the 2010 manifesto.

The following examples indicate that the UK's economy is not working or moving properly (i.e. it is not creating jobs) because its foundation is debt.

- (105) We need to get Britain *working* by creating jobs in the private sector, and we must get better value for money from the public sector.
- (106) Cutting the deficit is the most urgent task we need to undertake if we are *to get the economy moving*.

There is also evidence of the metaphor ECONOMIC PHENOMENA ARE MACHINES. The Conservative Party seems to have drawn from conceptualisation devices typical of financial reporting (Charteris-Black and Ennis, 2001), by creating a malfunctioning mechanistic scenario, where the engines of the economy, namely 'consumption' and 'job creation' have not worked properly because of the wrong election of fuel, which was 'debt' and 'public spending':

- (107) For the last decade, growth has been too dependent on government spending and *debt-fuelled* consumption.

(108) More than half of the new jobs created were *driven* by public spending.

The metaphorical understanding of debt and growth as mechanical processes consuming fuel seems to be in conflict with the pervasiveness of HEALTH metaphors. However, White's (2003: 142–143) claim about the penetration of technical economics jargon into everyday language fits into the strategy followed by Conservative strategists. Health metaphors convey an intrinsic evaluation, sometimes reinforced by life-and-death metaphors, based on what is positive or negative in the description of the British economy. The use of mechanical metaphors provides variety to discourse and occurs in sections of the manifesto concerned with the establishment of a new economic model, in combination with metaphors from BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION. It follows, then, that the rhetorical objective behind this conceptualisation is to highlight the efficiency of the new British economic model.

In conclusion, HEALTH and BUILDING metaphors play an important role in the conceptualisation of economic issues in the 2010 section of the corpus. This contrasts with the 1997 and 2001-2005 subsections, where WAR AND CONFLICT metaphors highlighted the liberal economic values related to Thatcherism.

Table 15 presents the main source domains and metaphors underlying the 2010 manifesto and their lexical instantiations.

SOURCE DOMAIN	METAPHOR	LEXICAL UNIT
BUILDINGS & CONSTRUCTION	ECONOMY IS A BUILDING / COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	<i>build</i> (14), <i>threshold</i> (6), <i>structural</i> (5), <i>balance</i> (4)
HEALTH & ILLNESS	COMPANIES ARE ORGANISMS	<i>growth</i> (22), <i>grow</i> (6), <i>stimulate</i> (6), <i>kill</i> (5)
GAMES & SPORTS	ECONOMY IS A COMPETITION	<i>leading</i> (4), <i>competitiveness</i> (4), <i>competition</i> (3), <i>lead</i> (2)
MOVEMENT & DIRECTION	POLITICAL / ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	<i>burden</i> (3), <i>stop</i> (14), <i>pilot</i> (3)
MACHINES & TOOLS	ECONOMY IS A MACHINE/ REDUCING PUBLIC SPENDING IS CUTTING	<i>boost</i> (6), <i>cut</i> (4), <i>fix</i> (2)
WAR & CONFLICT	POLITICS IS CONFLICT / ECONOMY IS CONFLICT	<i>protect</i> (13), <i>secure</i> (12), <i>threat</i> (11)

Table 15. Metaphorical conceptualisation of economic issues in the 2010 section of the manifesto corpus.

### 3.2.3.2. Conceptualisation of economic issues in the 2010 section of the cartoon corpus

This section will explore the metaphorical view of the Conservative economic proposals in cartoons published in *The Telegraph* and *The Times*. This section covers 30 cartoons out of the 79 which comprise the 2010 section of the cartoon corpus, which indicates the importance given to economic issues by the newspapers under study.

As already mentioned, the 2010 campaign was characterised by the economic turmoil which started in the USA in 2008 and spread globally. In Europe, the EU was concerned with the member states' budget deficit. Most European states had been accumulating debt. The most powerful countries within the EU had a debt close to 100% of the Gross Domestic Product. The risk of contagion within the continent was

sharper due to the relationship between sovereign debts ('debt web'<sup>43</sup>). As a result, the crisis was the main economic issue addressed in the 2010 campaign.

As a result, the crisis was the main economic issue addressed in the 2010 campaign by the various parties, which rushed to suggest different solutions according to their political standpoints and commitments.

In terms of source domains, the one of MACHINES AND TOOLS is activated in 15 cartoons, ANIMALS is the second most pervasive (7), followed by WAR AND CONFLICT (4) and GAMES AND SPORT (3).

The first cartoon presented in this subsection is a clear example of the conceptualisation of economic problems as animals (figure 56). It features three elements of the 2010 campaign. From left to right, we see the Labour candidate, Gordon Brown, pointing to his solution 'BIG GOVERNMENT'. In the middle, Cameron is pointing to the Conservative idea, i.e. 'BIG SOCIETY'. They are both turning their back to the main element, namely an elephant with a banner on which we read 'BIG PROBLEM'. The elephant is the metaphorical configuration of the UK's financial crisis, since its target is verbally cued on the animal's body: 'DEBT'. This DEBT IS AN ELEPHANT metaphor subsumes two further conceptual metaphors, IMPORTANCE IS SIZE and IMPORTANCE IS WEIGHT.

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<sup>43</sup> A comprehensive situation of these interconnections can be found in <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-15748696>.

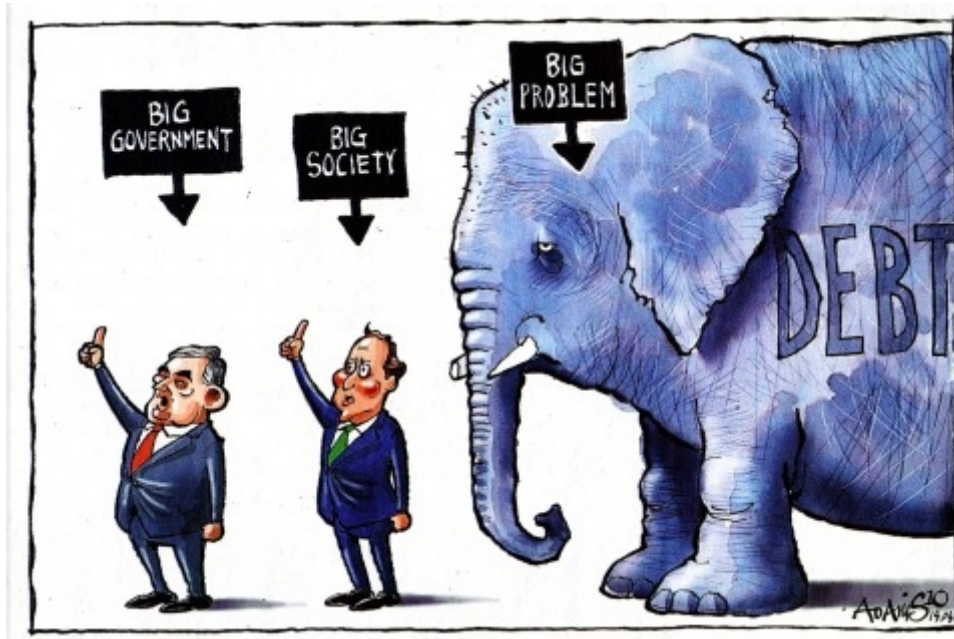


Figure 56. Adams' cartoon about the debt problem. *The Daily Telegraph*, 14 April 2010.

In the next cartoon (figure 57) a male elephant poses defiantly, the word 'DEBT' written on its body. It is stepping on George Osborne, the Chancellor of the Exchequer under David Cameron's tenure. The caption reads 'THE ELEPHANT IN THE ROOM'. The author's intention is reflected in the use of the idiom 'the elephant in the (living) room', used metaphorically to refer to an issue or risk that is so obvious that no one wants to talk about it.

Curiously, both cartoons use the same metaphor to depict the same target, namely the budget deficit the UK had fallen into by 2010. In addition, they both show that the political parties/the recently established Government were not paying due diligence to the problem. In Adams' cartoon, this is suggested by the elephant's position behind Cameron's back, and in Garland's it is indicated by the idiom. Since both cartoons were published in the same newspaper, it reflects the editorial line of *The Daily Telegraph*.

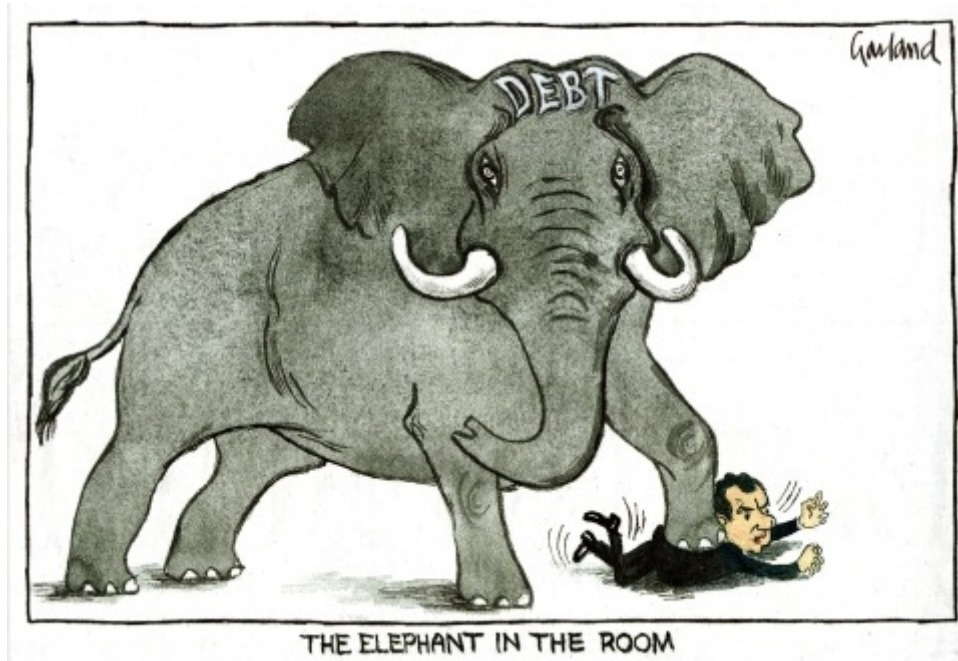


Figure 57. Garland's cartoon about the public debt deficit. *The Daily Telegraph*, 14 May 2010.

The concept of debt has other consistent visual manifestations in the 2010 section of the cartoon corpus. In Garland's cartoon shown in figure 58 there is a 18<sup>th</sup> century sea battle. Cameron – wearing a tricorn hat to show that he is the commander, and Clegg – the Liberal Democrat Deputy Prime Minister in the coalition Government – stand in navy officer's uniforms on an 18<sup>th</sup> century vessel deck. They are under attack, since at least four black cannon balls are hitting the vessel's sails with the words 'DEFICIT' and 'DEBT' written on them. The actual meaning of the image is provided by the reference to the scenario of battle scene, namely a bottle. The caption quotes one of Nelson's alleged exhortations before the battle of Trafalgar (1805) "THIS IS A WARM WORK; AND THIS DAY MAY BE THE LAST TO ANY OF US AT ANY MOMENT..."

This war scenario activates the following set of mappings under the conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS CONFLICT:

- THE UK IS A VESSEL
- CAMERON IS THE CAPTAIN
- THE CURRENT ECONOMIC SITUATION IS WAR
- PROBLEMS ARE CANNONBALLS.



These entailments generate the metaphor PROBLEMS ARE SELF-PROPELLED OBJECTS MOVING TOWARDS THE AFFECTED. However, this is not the only metaphor at play. By setting the scene in a glass bottle, Garland cues the metaphor LACK OF CONTROL OVER CHANGE IS LACK OF CONTROL OVER MOVEMENT, since the vessel (the UK) is locked in the bottle so that there is little chance of manoeuvring to dodge the cannon balls.



Figure 58. Garland's cartoon about the deficit problem. *The Daily Telegraph*, 14 May 2010.

In figure 59 the war scenario is replaced by a tennis match scenario. The Chancellor is about to smash a tennis ball. The ball projects a bigger shadow than him and has the word 'DEBT' written on it. The size of the ball and its shadow as compared with the Chancellor's racket hint at a problem in handling the ball. The image gives rise to the metaphors IMPORTANCE IS SIZE and LACK OF CONTROL IS DOWN, which can be noticed from the angle on which the image is set.



Figure 59. Adams' cartoon about the UK debt problem. *The Daily Telegraph*, 21 June 2010.

One of the measures to tackle the debt problem was to cut public spending. Thus, when the Government took office and implemented its measures, the British press echoed them.

As illustrated by the previous cartoons, the conceptualisation of money as a physical object is very common to express a reduction in public spending. The objects found in the whole corpus are sharp objects used for cutting, from scissors to gardening tools, including weapons like tridents and others used for public executions, such as axes or guillotines, depending on how drastic the cutting had to be. Axes and guillotines were the most recurrent in the 2010 and 2015 sections and instances of both are shown below.

Other cartoons in the 2010 section use ships as source objects to depict the British economy. In the following cartoon Osborne and another unidentified politician are trying to control a vessel named 'UK ECONOMY' in a tempest. Its sails, namely 'GROWTH' and 'INFLATION', cannot be used and the unidentified person is holding on to the mast in an expression of fear. Osborne is controlling the rudder, which is an

oversized axe metonymically standing for economic cuts (INTRUMENT FOR ACTION), activating the metaphor REDUCING PUBLIC SPENDING IS CUTTING. The image yields the following entailments:

- THE BRITISH ECONOMY IS A SHIP
- THE ECONOMIC CRISIS IS A STORM
- ECONOMIC GROWTH AND INFLATION FIGURES ARE THE SAILS
- CONTROL OF ECONOMIC SPENDING IS THE RUDDER.



Figure 60. Morland's cartoon about the UK economy. *The Times*, 12 August 2010.

The cartoon shown in figure 61 was drawn by Adams for *The Telegraph*, and shows Osborne standing by an axe on whose blade '£6bn' is tagged. The cartoon is divided into six images which show the same elements –the axe and the Chancellor on a white background. The Chancellor seems to walk towards the reader, becoming bigger in each image as the axe becomes smaller. The last image is slightly misaligned, and shows the Chancellor holding a tiny –toy axe in his right hand while holding a banner which says "DEFICIT £157bn". Adams uses the metaphor IMPORTANCE IS SIZE to map the relevance and harshness of the measures, as confirmed by the figures. This metaphor interplays with the metaphor ECONOMIC HARM IS CAUSING PHYSICAL INJURY, which is



profiled by the metonymic use of the black colour, standing for death. The final image cues the metonymy GESTURE FOR FEELING, because Osborne seems to be afraid because there is still a long way to go to meet the deficit requirements.



Figure 61. Adams' cartoon about the UK deficit problem. *The Daily Telegraph*, 24 May 2010.

In the next cartoon (figure 62) Adams features another character (Cameron) and another tool (a guillotine) to map the same features of harshness and brutality to the application of monetary measures on the Government's part. However, the target is not the scope of the measures but the way the Government presented them. Cameron, the executor this time, is holding a wrapping paper roll and liquid glue and says "YOU SEE- IT'S NOT AS BAD AS YOU THOUGHT". The reader can assume that Cameron has just wrapped the guillotine (except for the blade) with gift paper featuring happy faces. Since this kind of paper is usually used to wrap gifts in celebrations such as weddings or birthday parties, the COVER FOR CONTENT metonymy is the basis for the metaphor ECONOMIC MEASURES ARE A PRESENT, which is a criticism of the Government's communication policy.



Figure 62. Adams' cartoon about the government communication strategies. *The Daily Telegraph*, 4 October 2010.

The Government communication strategy is also the target of the cartoon drawn by Peter Brookes (figure 63), who portrays the Chancellor with an axe as an executioner, this time offering a sticking plaster to cure the wound inflicted by the Government's cuts. The plaster cues the visual metaphor CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS A MEDICINE.



Figure 63. Brookes' cartoon about the Conservative government's economic measures. *The Times*, 21 October 2010.

The same target and the same metaphor are illustrated in the final cartoon (figure 64). The Chancellor is holding an axe to stir a boiling liquid in order to make a medicine. This image is drawn on the cover of a book entitled *George's Marvellous Medicine*. The ingredients of the medicine are identified by tags: 'UNFAIRNESS' and 'PAIN'. The axe metonymically stands for the negative effects of the medicine (EFFECT FOR CAUSE).

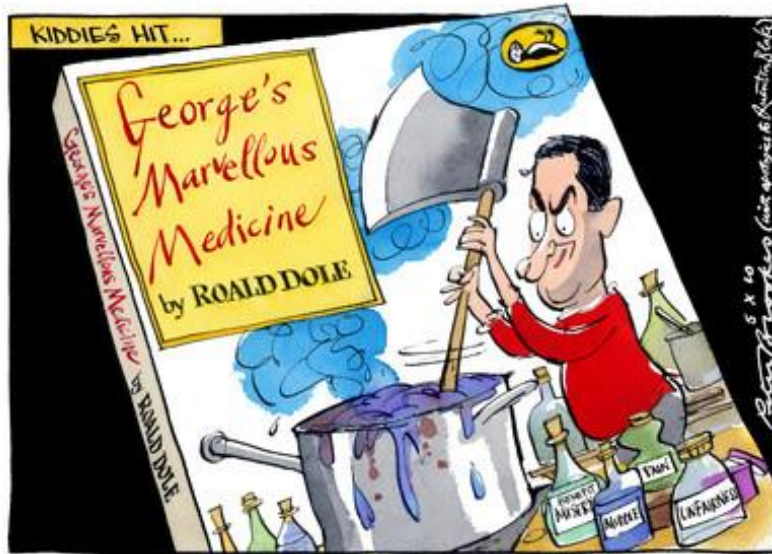


Figure 64. Brookers' cartoon about the government economic measures. *The Times*, 5 October 2010.

The idea of economic improvement is often visually expressed as the growth of a living being, mainly a plant (Resche, 2012). In *The Telegraph*, Garland and Adams depict the Chancellor in a gardening scenario, which is hardly surprising since gardening is one of the favourite leisure activities of British people.

The next images draw on pruning as a way to foster vigorous plant growth in spring. The Chancellor, George Osborne, is using a mechanical saw for gardening.

In the cartoon shown in figure 65, Osborne is using the saw to cut a tree. The target appears on the blade: "SPENDING REVIEW". The image renders the metaphor REDUCING PUBLIC SPENDING IS CUTTING. By his side there is an axe (with the words "CHILD BENEFITS" written on its blade) next to a recently cut out stem, suggesting he has just finished that task before starting with the bigger tree.

Spending review is connected to the revision of social benefits carried out by the Conservatives as one of the main measures to overcome the economic crisis. This is related to the strict father model typical in Conservative thinking (Lakoff, 2004; Lakoff and Wehling, 2012). The metaphorical view of ‘CHILD BENEFITS’ as an axe used for cutting a small trunk reveals a critical stance about Conservative spending containment measures.



Figure 65. Garland's cartoon about the government's economic measures. *The Daily Telegraph*, 5 October 2010.

In the second cartoon Osborne has just finished using the saw, as the smoke metonymically suggests. A few recently chopped down trunk bases map the severity of the economic measures. Osborne uses his watering can, as if willing to let the tree grow again, i.e. willing to foster economic growth. The caption, ‘AND NOW...GROWTH’, evokes the Government's plans to review its spending cuts to improve the economic situation. However, it is widely known that pruning is effective in fostering a plant growth because it only targets the weakest branches, allowing the plant to reduce energy consumption by focusing on the most prolific and fruitful branches. Cutting a tree from the base means killing the plant, making irrigation efforts useless.



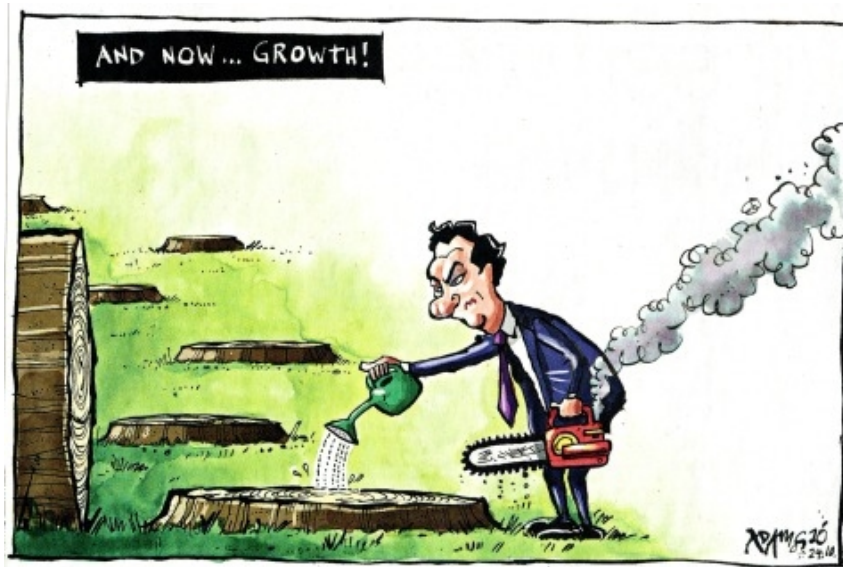


Figure 66. Adams' cartoon about the government's economic measures. *The Daily Telegraph*, 24 October 2010.

The following cartoon, figure 67, published by *The Times*, reveals the metaphorical link between spending cuts and death shown above in the form of executions and sharp objects such as axes and saws. Drawn by Brookes and published in October 2010, when the Government started to revise its policies, it shows a white horse carrying four horsemen dressed in black cloaks, backgrounded by fire. It is a reference to the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse, a chapter of the last book of the New Testament, the Book of Revelations of Christ, which describes an apocalyptic prophecy in which four horsemen are sent to the Earth to impose God's punishment as part of the Last Judgment. They are here represented by Cameron, Osborne, Clegg and Alexander, the then Chief Secretary to the Treasury, and identified by their scythes in an INSTRUMENT FOR PRODUCT metonymy, since scythes are weapons used to kill. The target of the metaphor (economic measures) is verbally cued by the white horse which in a speech bubble states "IT'S THE CUTS... FOUR HORSEMEN, ONE HORSE!". These words trigger the metaphor ECONOMIC HARM IS DEATH. Through this metaphor Brookes suggests that the Government's painful measures will certainly result in the apocalypse.



Figure 67. Brookes' cartoon about the government's economic measures. *The Times*, 19 October 2010.

To conclude, the British conservative cartoons in this section focus on 1) the serious economic problems to be faced after the 2010 general election, and 2) the measures adopted by the government in the first months. For example, the deficit problem is metaphorically represented on the basis of the metaphor IMPORTANCE IS SIZE. The conceptualisation of the government's first economic measures is based on cutting tools such as a knife (1), scissors (3), axes (6), saws (4) and even scythes (2) and guillotines (2), drawing on various scenarios to highlight the negative effects of public spending cuts. Thus, of the 30 cartoons analysed, 13 convey a negative evaluation of the economic measures which the Conservative-led government was forced to apply.

### 3.2.4. The 2015 section

#### 3.2.4.1. Conceptualisation of economic issues in the 2015 section of the corpus

The 2015 manifesto devotes the first two sections to the presentation of the economic measures. These are entitled *An economic plan to help you and your family* and *Jobs for all*. Taxation is dealt with in the third section, entitled *Cutting your taxes, making welfare fairer and controlling immigration*, which is also concerned with domestic issues.

Our analysis revealed that 78 different lexical items were metaphorically used in the conceptualisation of economic issues. Again, the number of source domains activated in the 2015 section is larger than in 1997 and 2001-2005. The most common source domain is that of BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION, featuring 12 lexical units, and HEALTH AND ILLNESS, which was activated through 11 different lexical items.

In the foreword, Cameron uses MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION metaphors to persuade the reader about the significance of the general election, as shown in (109) and (110):

(109) Over the last five years, we have *put our country back on the right track*. Five years ago, Britain was *on the brink*. As the outgoing Labour Treasury Minister put it with brutal candour, ‘there is no money’. Since then, we have *turned things around*.

(110) Britain is on the right *path*.

Cameron sets a scenario where Britain, metaphorically viewed as a train, is now riding on the right track – probably heading towards a positively evaluated destination, thanks to Conservative policies which avoided the disaster of a train being derailed. It includes a quotation of the former Labour Treasury Minister after leaving his office back in 2010<sup>44</sup>, when the Conservative-led Government took office. After this quick reminder of the situation with the former Labour government, Cameron reinforces the effects of Conservative policies which have “turned things around”. However, Britain (the train) could well be going the opposite direction again:

(111) It is fragile, and with the wrong decisions, it could easily *be reversed*.

Since opinion polls during the weeks before the election had revealed different results, predicting a new hung Parliament and even a Labour victory<sup>45</sup>, the warning about the fragility of economic recovery seems logical.

Therefore, the conceptual metaphor POLITICAL ACTION IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION finds its logical entailment in the metaphor CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS GOING FORWARD:

(112) So let us *keep moving forward*; and set our sights on making our great country greater still.

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<sup>44</sup> This refers to an episode in which the former Treasury Minister apparently left a note on his desk apologising for not leaving money and wishing good luck to his successor. This is still remembered by the British press and the Conservatives, who have made extensive use of this episode until present day. For further information, visit <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2010/may/17/liam-byrne-note-successor> and <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/12/labour-liam-byrne-lowest-point-theres-no-money-note>.

<sup>45</sup> <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32751993>

The Conservatives used the metaphor THE STATE IS A PERSON for persuasive purposes, since it laid bridges between government action and the voter. Examples (113) – (115) a person’s physical and attitudinal qualities are transferred to the British economic situation (see table 16 ).

(113) Five years ago, Britain *was reeling from* the chaos of Labour’s Great Recession;

(114) Britain *is back on its feet*, strong and growing stronger every day.

(115) They see a country that *believes in* itself.

THE STATE IS A PERSON	
situation of economic crisis	<i>reeling</i> (suffering)
situation of economic improvement	<i>to be back on one’s feet</i>
situation of sustained economic improvement	<i>to be strong and grow</i>
having good economic prospects	<i>being self-confident</i>

Table 16. Entailments of STATE IS A PERSON metaphor.

BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION is the most pervasive source domain in the economic section of the 2015 corpus. In the 2015 manifesto the British economy is frequently described as a building, its various indicators being equated with elements of buildings, as in (116) and (117):

(116) That means we can start properly paying down our debts and reducing the scale of annual interest payments – reducing the UK’s vulnerability to future shocks *by fixing the roof* while the sun is shining.

- (117) By *building on the foundations we have put in place*, we will have a truly national recovery and be able to pursue our ambition for Britain to become the most prosperous major economy in the world by the 2030s.

The conceptualisation of the UK's economy as a building enables the Conservatives to indicate the need for a second term in order to complete the construction, as exemplified in (118) and (119):

- (118) As you look for your first job, we are *building* a healthy economy that provides a good career for you with a decent income.

- (119) But our national recovery remains a *work in progress*.

In much the same way, economy-related actions are metaphorically expressed in construction terms:

- (120) We *ring-fenced* the science budget by making difficult choices to reduce spending in other areas. To protect hardworking taxpayers from future banking crashes, we will finish the process of ring-fencing banks' high street branches from their investment arms by 2019 at the latest.

Metaphors from the source domains of HEALTH AND ILLNESS and CREATION also play a part in the representation of the economy. The terms *grow* (44 hits) and *life* (1) profile the conceptual metaphor THE ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM.

- (121) Britain is now one of the fastest *growing* major economies in the world.

- (122) Industries are *coming back to life*.

- (123) Now that the economy is *growing strongly* again, we have seen the first real terms increase in the National Minimum Wage since Labour's Great Recession began.

By contrast, Labour economic policies are negatively evaluated, as they are perceived to cause problems to the economy. In this case, Labour is represented as having starved public services, instantiating LABOUR POLICY IS A DISASTER.

- (124) Under Labour, road and rail were *starved of* resources, while too many people were stuck on the wrong side of the digital divide.

In (124), if we understand 'resources' as money, the conceptual basis is the conceptual metaphor MONEY IS FOOD, hinting at the need for funding of British institutions.

As we have seen in the previous subsection, the Government economic measures were featured in terms of cutting tools, usually axes, in scenarios which brought about the idea of death and destruction. For example, in (126), "cutting's people's taxes" is reinforced by the use of words belonging to the source domain of RELIGION AND ETHICS, establishing the need to carry out a policy which is believed not only to be the most beneficial, but also the "right thing to do".

- (125) We have *cut the record deficit* we inherited to five per cent of GDP, but that is still too high.

- (126) We *believe* that *cutting* people's taxes is the right thing to do – not only because it is your money, but also because cutting the taxes of the lowest paid and helping them stand on their own two feet is the most effective poverty-tackling measure there is.

To sum up, in the 2015 manifesto the Conservative Party primarily relies on the source domains of BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION, HEALTH AND ILLNESS supported by others such as CREATION AND DESTRUCTION and MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION. This seems to be a rhetorically logical movement, since the entailments from PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELLING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION and COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS, which are the two main overarching metaphors, allow for the simplification of complex economic issues, which are framed as incomplete journeys or buildings, positively evaluated. Metaphor is thus used here for heuristic purposes, inasmuch as it helps simplify complex issues in order to win the electorate.

Table 17 shows the main source domains activated and metaphors instantiated together with the lexical units which instantiate them.

SOURCE DOMAIN	METAPHOR	LEXICAL UNIT
BUILDINGS & CONSTRUCTION	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS/ ECONOMY IS A BUILDING	<i>threshold</i> (12), <i>build</i> (11), <i>strong</i> (7), <i>balance</i> (4)
HEALTH & ILLNESS	COMPANIES ARE ORGANISMS / ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM	<i>grow</i> (33), <i>growth</i> (20), <i>relief</i> (6), <i>healthy</i> (1)
GAMES & SPORTS	ECONOMY IS COMPETITION	<i>competitive</i> (3), <i>competition</i> (2), <i>lead</i> (1), <i>win</i> (1)
MOVEMENT & DIRECTION	POLITICAL / ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	<i>advance</i> (3), <i>turn around</i> (3)
MACHINES & TOOLS	ECONOMY IS A MACHINE/ REDUCING PUBLIC SPENDING IS CUTTING	<i>boost</i> (11), <i>work</i> (10), <i>cut</i> (5), <i>fix</i> (2)

Table 17. Metaphorical conceptualisation of economic issues in the 2015 section of the manifesto corpus.



#### *3.2.4.2. Conceptualisation of economic issues in the 2015 section of the cartoon section*

The 2015 section of the cartoon corpus comprises 14 cartoons targeting the Government's measures to reduce deficit.

The source domains activated in the metaphorical conceptualisation of economic issues by the press are evenly distributed, being the source domain of MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION the most relevant one appearing in 4 cartoons. It is followed by MACHINES AND TOOLS (2), GAMES AND SPORT (2), and CLOTH metaphors (2).

The first two cartoons shown in this section are concerned with the evolution of the economic situation. The former (figure 68), drawn by Adams, shows Osborne carrying a blue balloon on which 'LOW INFLATION' can be read. The Chancellor has his left-hand thumb up, and his feet do not seem to be on the ground, a detail which reflects the metaphor CONTROL IS (GOING) UP, because he is ascending. The second image of the cartoon shows him in the same position from a more distant point of view. He is in the middle of nowhere next to a rock wall, suggesting that he is falling off a cliff, which activates the metaphor LACK OF CONTROL IS (GOING) DOWN.

Since no explicit reference to the economic situation is made in the cartoon, it is necessary to interpret 'LOW INFLATION' as an instantiation of a PART FOR WHOLE metonymy (low inflation standing for the economy). This interpretation enables the reader to interpret negatively the Government actions to tackle the economic problem in the juxtaposed image.



Figure 68. Adam's cartoon about the economy before the 2015 general election. *The Daily Telegraph*, 14 January 2015.

Figure 69 was drawn by Brookes for *The Times*, after the Conservatives won the 2015 general election. It refers to the EU summit held between 25 and 26 June 2015 in La Valletta, and shows a Greek soldier marching with an oversized *pom pom* shoe accessory on which 'DEBT' can be read<sup>46</sup>. In marching, the soldier lifts his left leg so high that the *pom pom* falls upon him, making him fall. This cues the metaphor IMPORTANCE IS WEIGHT.

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<sup>46</sup> The summit concluded with recommendations to all member states over several issues such as migration and the economy. As a matter of fact, it was in La Valletta that David Cameron stated the UK Government's commitment to hold an in-out referendum over the EU, as can be consulted in the document containing the conclusions from the summit ( <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2015/06/26-euco-conclusions/> ).



Figure 69. Brookes' cartoon about the British debt problem. *The Times*, 27 June 2015.

Public finances are personified in the next cartoons, which draw on the source domain of health and illness (FINANCIAL SITUATION IS PHYSICAL FITNESS). In the cartoon shown in figure 70 we see a strikingly skinny Osborne checking his weight on a scale. The target of the cartoon is provided in the caption: 'DEFICIT'. The metonymic interpretation of Osborne (LEADER FOR INSTITUTION) wearing his Chancellor's briefcase (SYMBOL FOR INSTITUTION) allows for the activation of the personification.

The next cartoon (figure 71), drawn by Morland, deals with the issue of unfunded pledges, which caused a political controversy at the time of the 2015 general election, since the Government found a way to evade meeting financial objectives by not provisioning funds for political pledges, which implied that the money did not revert on the state's budget. A scenario based on physical fitness is created by an image in which we can see Osborne jogging to lose weight, but he runs by a pie (UNFUNDED PLEDGES), eats it and starts gaining weight again. This metonymic and metaphorical

interpretation of Osborne's body as the institution of the Chancellery triggers a set of entailments, stemming from the conceptual metaphor MONEY IS FOOD:

- SPENDING MONEY IS BEING FAT
- REDUCING BUDGET IS SLIMMING DOWN
- A SOUND ECONOMIC SITUATION IS PHYSICAL FITNESS

Both cartoons suggest the futility of all economic efforts carried out by the Conservative Party in overcoming the financial crisis. In the former, Osborne is told that he must "only" lose £12bn pounds, in a pun based on the weight unit and the currency unit. In the latter cartoon the lack of physical fitness after eating the cake is exactly the same as at the beginning. This implies that ultimately the cost of the political promises without funding will revert to the 2015 budget, pointing at the negative outcome of relying on unfunded pledges to fulfil electoral promises.

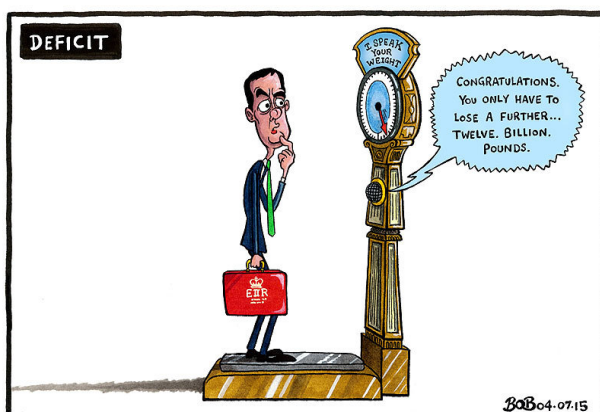


Figure 70. Bob's cartoon about the deficit crisis. *The Daily Telegraph*, 4 July 2015.



Figure 71. Morland's cartoon about unfunded pledges. *The Times*, 13 April 2015.

The cartoon in figure 72 is reminiscent of those in the 2010 section of the cartoon corpus in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer, George Osborne, is portrayed with cutting tools. It was drawn by Brown for *The Times* after Van Gogh's *Wheatfield with a Reaper* (1889). It portrays Osborne as a reaper who has just cut himself in the bottom, where '£30 bn' can be read, visually rendering the target of the cartoon. It is a reaction

to Osborne 's budget speech that an extra effort in saving £30bn should be made before 2017. Therefore, as in figures 65 and 66 above, there is a gardening/ agricultural scenario where Osborne (PERSON FOR INSTITUTION) is ploughing a field. Brown's standpoint shows in Osborne hurting himself, implying there is little left to cut or that it is a dangerous activity. The image is framed by the title of the work: 'THE REAPER or MORE ASSTERITY'. In order to understand all its implications, we need to refer to figure 67 above, where the Reaper's scythe is equated to death, and, since Osborne injures himself, it activates the metaphor CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS PHYSICAL HARM. Therefore, Brown suggests either the negative impact of cutting public spending or the uselessness of enduring that situation for a prolonged period of time.



Figure 72. Dave Brown's version of *The Reaper*. *The Times*, 21 March 2015.

The last cartoon in this section deals with another measure adopted to reduce public deficit: the privatisation of the main state companies. One of the measures for the 2015-2020 term was the privatisation of Royal Mail and banks (RBS and Lloyd's) partially taken over by the state during the 2008 crisis. The cartoon (figure 73) shows Cameron and Osborne in the countryside on a sunny day. They are naked because they have just stripped off their clothes, which metaphorically represent the institutions they plan to



privatise. The metaphorical target, i.e. Royal Mail, RBS and Lloyd's, is verbally provided. Cameron and Osborne stand for the government (LEADER FOR INSTITUTION).

The last cartoon reveals Brookes' critical stance about privatisation. This is reminiscent, as we have seen in sections 3.1.1.2 and 3.1.4.2 dealing with the conceptualisation of leadership in cartoons, of privatisation policies carried out by Thatcher and Major governments. Although they are turning their backs to the readers, they turn their necks to show a smile of satisfaction. The metaphor ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ARE PIECES OF CLOTH interplays with HAPPINESS IS UP, which is expressed through a few pictorial details: the clothes are thrown upwards, the characters' arms are raised, and the clothes are drifting away before falling on the ground in a sign of relief.



Figure 73. Brookes' cartoon about the privatisation of banking institutions. *The Times*, 12 June 2015.

Throughout this subsection, it has been shown how the press focused its interest on the economic problems which were of utmost importance in 2015. Out of the 14 cartoons analysed, 4 cartoons draw on the source domain of MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION, two others really on GAMES AND SPORT issues and three others rely on the source domain of MACHINES AND TOOLS to depict Conservative economic policies as cutting devices, be it in the form of axes or a scythe.

### **3.2.5. Discussion and comparison of results in the economic section**

The 1997 section of the manifesto corpus was dominated by WAR AND CONFLICT, GAMES AND SPORT and MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION metaphors, in line with research on the language of Conservatism under Thatcher and neo-liberal policies. The conceptual metaphor ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT IS TRAVELLING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION is prevalent. While CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS MOVING FORWARD, labour policies are impediments to movement.

WAR and CONFLICT metaphors, and GAMES and SPORT metaphors are also pervasive, in line with Thatcherite precepts. The primary metaphors are ECONOMY IS CONFLICT and ECONOMY IS COMPETITION.

Five of the 11 cartoons analysed in the 1997 section encode metaphors from these source domains. The press hints at the lack of control on the economic situation, due to the threat represented by Tony Blair's New Labour.

The rhetorical conceptualisation of economic issues in the 2001-2005 section is based on the same source domains and the same neo-liberal economic principles. Again, a political polarisation strategy is reflected in the domains of GAMES AND SPORT, and WAR AND CONFLICT. Labour economic measures are conceptualised as enemies through WAR metaphors which are used with dysphemistic purposes.

While in opposition, the Conservatives resorted to WAR metaphors to map hostility and injustice onto the economic measures adopted by the Blair government.

The focus was on public spending and taxation (132 occurrences of the lemma word). As exemplified in (60), the Euro started to be perceived as a threat to the British economy. MOVEMENT metaphors are used to indicate either impossibility or inability to carry out the Conservative economic proposals.

The 2010 section of the manifesto corpus is the richest in terms of source domain activated and metaphors instantiated. There is a greater occurrence of HEALTH AND ILLNESS metaphors to conceptualise the economy, as a result of the global economic context and the change in rhetorical strategies under the new party leader, David Cameron. The conceptual metaphor THE ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM gives rise to other metaphors such as ECONOMIC SITUATION IS A STATE OF PHYSICAL HEALTH, which allow for describing Conservative policies as medicines. MOVEMENT and RELIGION metaphors enhance the sense of determination and ethical renewal of the party.

In contrast, the focus of the British press was on public debt, represented as an elephant to express the magnitude of the problem to the new Government. This accounts for an interest on political measures to reduce public spending. Thus, 'cut' is found 69 times in the 2010 section of the manifesto corpus, and 50% of the cartoons analysed cue the metaphor REDUCING PUBLIC SPENDING IS CUTTING. through source objects like axes, used by Cameron or Osborne, the Chancellor at the time. As the measures came into effect, Conservative newspapers became critical at the end of 2010. Consequently, the scenarios portrayed evolved towards public executions and even apocalyptic scenarios.

The 2015 section of the manifesto corpus uses similar conceptualisation patterns. Since the Conservative Party had been in power since 2010 and intended to win a majority of voters, it resorted to source domains which would again enhance a feeling of common purpose. Thus, BUILDING and MOVEMENT metaphors



dominated economic conceptualisation in the 2015 manifesto. As illustrated in examples (116) – (120), these overarching source domains were supported by HEALTH and ILLNESS metaphors which highlighted the success of Conservative economic performance.

Interestingly, out of the 14 cartoons analysed in the 2015 section of the cartoon corpus, four instantiated metaphors from the source domain of MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION, targeting issues such as inflation, debt and unfunded pledges. As shown in figures 70 and 71, the editorial stance on Conservative economic performance is not optimistic: the state is metonymically represented by Osborne in a bad state of health

### 3.3.CONCEPTUALISATION OF BRITISH NATIONAL INTEREST

This section analyses the metaphors used by the Conservative Party in the areas we have termed as British National Interest, namely those of foreign affairs policy and the controversial relationship between the UK and the European Union.

In each section, the reader will first be presented with an overview of the main political context and events which characterised the politics of the period. Then, general quantitative and qualitative information about both the manifesto corpus and the cartoon corpus compiled will be provided. Finally, in 3.3.5., the results will be discussed and compared.

#### **3.3.1. The 1997 section**

##### *3.3.1.1. Conceptualisation of British national interests in the 1997 section of the manifesto corpus*

Apart from the scandals and other issues that resulted in the decline of the Conservative government, 1997 is an essential year to understand the events that led to the UK being the first country to leave the European Union. The Treaty on the European Union, commonly known as the Maastricht Treaty, which established the creation and implementation of a single currency, had been signed in 1992, but was substantially amended in the Amsterdam Treaty, which was held in October 1997.

The Maastricht Treaty established the three pillars of the European Union, namely economic integration, a common foreign and security policy, and police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters. It is the first pillar that drew maximum media attention during the 1997 campaign. The member states were working on the creation of

a European Single Currency, later renamed as the Euro, which would come into force in 1999. The issue was known as EMU (European Monetary Union).

The Conservative Party had to avoid the potential negative impact of its reluctance to sign the Treaty on the grounds of British interests, and at the same time, they had to respond to an ever-increasing Eurosceptic wing of the party. As put by Lynch (2003: 8):

Conservatives [...] disagreed over how and why ‘Europe’ had contributed to the party’s demise. Euro-sceptics blamed John Major’s European policy. For Euro-sceptics, Major had accepted developments in the European Union that ran counter to the Thatcherite defence of the nation state and promotion of the free market by signing the Maastricht Treaty.

As already commented in the previous sections, the Conservative Party relied heavily on terms belonging to the WAR AND CONFLICT and GAMES AND SPORT source domains for the 1997 general election, featuring a scenario which emphasised competition, in line with the emphasis on individualism which characterised Thatcher’s ideology. Most of the metaphorically marked lexical units concerning this section are within the ninth section of the 1997 manifesto, called *Europe and the World*. There are 29 different lexical units marked as metaphorically used whose target is British National Interest.

There is linguistic evidence in the corpus of the conceptualisation of the ongoing process of European integration as a battle to preserve British freedom, as shown in the following examples (127–130):

- (127) It means a continuing *fight to keep* burdens off business, maintaining our opt-out of the European Social Chapter.
- (128) We will *defend* the rights of national parliaments and oppose more powers being given to the European Parliament at the expense of national parliaments.

(129) We will *resist* the imposition of other social burdens on the work place through a new European employment chapter.

(130) There is, of course, an alternative on offer: to load costs on business while calling it "stakeholding"; to increase the role of the state, while calling it "the community"; to *succumb* to a centralised Europe while calling it "not being isolated"; to break up our country while calling it "devolution".

The response did not only take the form of resistance, but was understood in religious and ethical terms, in order to show not only the determination to resist against the European integration process, but also that their *ethos*:

(131) We *believe* that in an uncertain, competitive world, the nation state is a *rock of security*.

(132) The government has a positive *vision* for the European Union as a partnership of nations. We want to be in Europe but not run by Europe.

The most important ideas of the Conservative Party in 1997 concerning BNI issues are established in examples (127) – (132): the process of European integration was a threat to the UK's sovereignty. On 16 September 1992 – known as *the Black Wednesday* <sup>47</sup>– the Conservative British Government had been forced to withdraw the pound sterling from the Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM), which was the forerunner of the single currency. As a result, European integration was perceived as a threat by the Conservatives, who trailed behind Labour in opinion polls. Interestingly, the expression *rock of security* seems to echo the passages of the King James' Bible (1611)<sup>48</sup> in which

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<sup>47</sup> Black Wednesday refers to 16 September 1992, when the Conservative British Government was forced to withdraw the pound sterling from the Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM), which was the precursor of the single currency. For a short introduction visit <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/4249425.stm> .

<sup>48</sup> The King James' version or King James' Bible was the first English translation of the Bible for the Church of England.

the Lord is conceptualised as a *rock of salvation*: “The Lord liveth; and blessed be my rock; and exalted be the God of the rock of my salvation” (2 Sam. 22: 47).

The words ‘believe’ and ‘vision’ instantiate metaphors drawn from the source domain of RELIGION, such as IDEAS ARE RELIGIOUS PRECEPTS, THINKING IS HAVING A VISION and CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS SALVATION, thus showing the importance given to European issues by the Conservatives.

Once their position towards European integration has been clearly expressed, they make a veiled appeal for the reader to acknowledge their previous achievements through the source domain of MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION, as illustrated in the previous section by the word ‘pioneered’. The Conservatives, in power since 1979, depict themselves as the leaders in the development of the single market, and they claim that they should be followed by the rest of European nations:

(133) We benefit from the huge trade opportunities that have opened up since Britain *led the way* in developing Europe's single market. We want to see the rest of Europe *follow* the same deregulated, enterprise policies that have transformed our economic prospects in Britain.

(134) They would damage Britain's success by undermining our veto, signing up to the Social Chapter and following in others' *footsteps* - even where *they lead in the wrong direction*.

However, for the British press, the real issue of the 1997 campaign was the position of the future government in Rome, where the implementation of the European single currency was going to take place. Thus, the Conservatives also relied on a scenario of MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION and PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS to remain open to future changes according to the reaction of the public.

- (135) It is a moment of truth, *setting the direction* in which the European Union will go. It will also be crucial in ensuring that we have a *relationship* with the rest of Europe with which we can be *comfortable*.

The negative evaluation of the behaviour of other European countries is not only conveyed in terms of relationships but also in terms of ANIMAL metaphors, as exemplified in (136). In this example we see how the Conservatives conceptualise cowardice in facing challenges through the mapping of the evolutionary behaviour of some species of insects, whose larvae create a protective covering made of silky threads where development takes place. This behaviour is typical of moths and harmless species, so that the Conservatives do not only point at the futility of protection, but also at the inefficiency of those countries adopting regulatory economic measures with they identify with Labour and other social democratic governments in Europe.

- (136) Many countries in Europe have tried to *cocoon* themselves from global competition behind layers of red tape and regulation.

Finally, the Conservatives' reluctance to change and the restatement of their views on European issues and foreign affairs are conceptualised through the source domain of BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION, instantiating the conceptual METAPHOR COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS, mapping qualities related to materials onto two international organisations, such as the European Union and NATO.

- (137) The diversity of Europe's nations is its *strength*. As more nations join the European Union, it needs to become *flexible* not more *rigid*.

- (138) NATO will remain the *cornerstone* of our security.

This political stance led, according to McAllister and Studlar (2000), to a swing towards the political space filled by the Referendum Party, a party against the Single Currency and the process of European integration, which eventually contributed to the landslide victory of New Labour.

The process of European integration was conceptualised by the Conservatives under Major in terms of WAR AND CONFLICT, in line with Thatcherite rhetoric, with a view to highlighting the importance of the nation-state within the European framework. Table 18 below show the main source domains used in the 1997 section of the manifesto corpus for BNI issues.

Table 18 shows the main source domains and metaphors underlying BNI in the 2010 manifesto and their lexical instantiations.

<b>SOURCE DOMAIN</b>	<b>METAPHOR</b>	<b>LEXICAL UNIT</b>
WAR & CONFLICT	POLITICS IS CONFLICT / FOREIGN POLICY IS CONFLICT	<i>protect</i> (6), <i>damage</i> (2), <i>resist</i> (5), <i>face</i> (4), <i>oppose</i> (5)
BUILDINGS & CONSTRUCTION	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	<i>stability</i> (4), <i>strength</i> (3), <i>stable</i> (1), <i>build</i> (5)
MOVEMENT & DIRECTION	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	<i>way</i> (1), <i>ahead</i> (2), <i>follow</i> (2), <i>footsteps</i> (1)
GAMES & SPORTS	ECONOMY IS COMPETITION / POLITICS IS COMPETITION	<i>rivalry</i> (1), <i>competitive</i> (1), <i>disadvantage</i> (1)

Table 18. Metaphorical conceptualisation of BNI in the 1997 section of the manifesto corpus.

### *3.3.1.2. Conceptualisation of British national interests in the 1997 section of the cartoon corpus*

Within the 1997 section of the cartoon corpus, 16 were devoted to issues related to British interests in foreign affairs or the UK relationship with the European Union. Amongst them, European politics and how they influenced the UK drew most of the attention of cartoonists. Consequently, there are 14 cartoons which describe the relationship between the European Union and the UK.

European issues are understood in terms of WAR (2 cartoons), GAMES AND SPORTS (2 cartoons), and MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION (6 cartoons).

In early 1997, the European Union's aim was to make logistical, legislative and economic arrangements for the introduction of the single currency. The effects of the 'Black Wednesday' were still visible among Conservative ranks, so the issue of economic integration was seen as a threat to the country's economic prosperity by hardcore Conservatives, thus preventing the government from making a decision about the monetary union. This situation is perfectly depicted in figure 74, where we see Major and Blair, the candidate of a rebranded New Labour Party and the favourite to win the next general election, imitating Sir Winston Churchill's gesture and outfit while looking at the coast. In the lower part of the cartoon the target is verbally cued by the word "EUROPE". The caption echoes the widely-known speech 'We Shall Fight Them on the Beaches'<sup>49</sup> delivered by Churchill at the House of the Commons on 4<sup>th</sup> June 1940. The image also reflects the source of the metaphor EUROPEAN MONETARY INTEGRATION IS WAR.

In the image, the characters are smoking an oversized fag and wear a three-piece suit. They are making the "V" gesture (V for victory), evoking Mr Churchill, who is

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<sup>49</sup> The speech's transcript can be consulted at: <http://www.winstonchurchill.org/resources/speeches/1940-the-finest-hour/128-we-shall-fight-on-the-beaches>.



still remembered as one of the greatest British leaders. Despite being an outstanding politician for most of his life, Churchill's leadership reached its heyday during WWII. Interestingly, Churchill was apparently aware of the importance of dress code, and was not only renowned for "trumping Nazi Germany and destroying the twisted visions of Adolph Hitler" but also for being perfectly aware of "the power of a good suit and what it could do for a man's confidence".<sup>50</sup>

The cartoonist criticises the government's inability to either reject or adopt monetary integration, taking a precautionary attitude towards the potential threat from mainland Europe. Such attitude will become the most prominent feature of Major's politics, as shown in the leadership section of this study.



Figure 74. Garland's cartoon about political leaders' indecision over the euro. *The Daily Telegraph*, 23 April 1997.

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<sup>50</sup> See *The Gentleman's Journal* for an article on the issue at: <https://www.thegentlemansjournal.com/style-steal-dress-like-sir-winston-churchil/>.

The experimental character of European policy at the time for the Conservative Party is reflected in the scenarios depicted by the press. For example, 3 cartoons feature an experiment scenario. Garland's cartoon shown in figure 75 draws on the domain of MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION. We see Major and Heseltine depicted as dummies in a crash test. Their car is heading towards the wall where 'EUROPE' can be read, metonymically standing for the EU, thus activating the metaphor EUROPE IS AN OBSTACLE. Jacques Chirac, the French President at the time, is monitoring the experiment. The expected outcome of the crash test activates the metaphor POLITICAL FAILURE IS HAVING AN ACCIDENT. Interestingly, Brookes published a similar cartoon based on crash tests in *The Times* on the same day, in which Blair and Major are also carrying out the crash tests against a wall with the word 'EUROPE' on it.

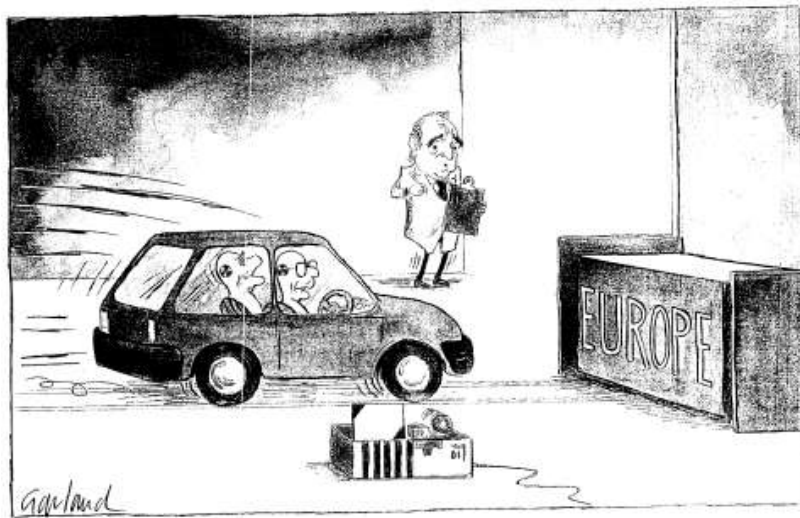


Figure 75. Garland's cartoon about the effects of European policy on the Conservative Party. *The Daily Telegraph*, 5 February 1997.

Beyond the Government's indecision, there are stronger views about the effects of the European monetary integration on the Conservative Government, as illustrated in the cartoon shown in figure 76. These effects are represented through the scenario of a Roman circus, where the main Labour leaders are depicted as Catholic martyrs who are about to be attacked by a lion. The target is again cued by the word 'EUROPE' on the lion's back. However, the lion revolves against the members of the Conservative Party who are at the stands, holding a position of power. The image thus profiles the

metaphors EUROPEAN MONETARY INTEGRATION IS A LION and EUROPEAN POLICY IS A CIRCUS. The result is an unexpected fatal accident, which renders the same metaphor as in figure 75.

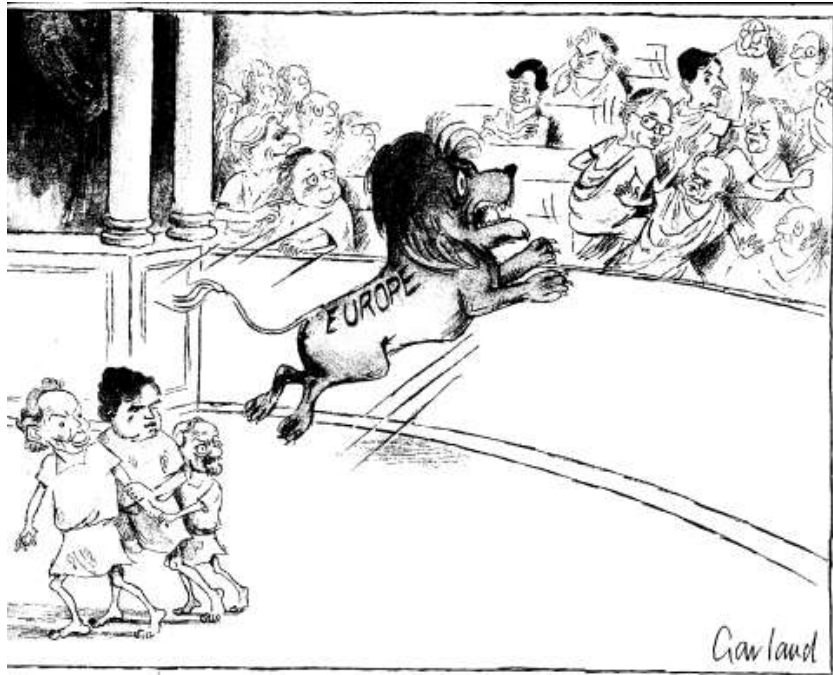


Figure 76. Garland's cartoon about the effect of European integration on the Conservative Party. *The Daily Telegraph*, 3 November 1997.

The effects of the European issue on the party's chances of winning the election were also noticed by Bale (2011: 64):

In the event, candidates' stands made no difference to how they fared at the election: voters did not distinguish between self-proclaimed Eurosceptics and alleged Europhiles; they just wanted the Tories out. [...] Clearly, internal arguments about Europe prevented them focusing on what could, had it been consistently, been one of their plus points, namely the strong and sustainable economic recovery achieved by Norman Lamont and Ken Clarke.

The same negative view of European integration underlies Brookes' cartoon for *The Times* (figure 77). Major is holding a card on which "FREE VOTE"<sup>51</sup> can be read and the "O" in Europe is depicted as a hang, thus activating the metaphor EUROPEAN INTEGRATION IS DEATH for the Conservative Party.



Figure 77. Brookes' cartoon about the effects of the European issue on the Conservative Party. *The Times*, 18 April 1997.

In the next cartoon (figure 78), Cummings uses an accident scenario to feature the European Union as a train heading towards the monetary union. The train locomotive is Germany, which is metonymically represented through the face of its leader at the time, Helmut Kohl. However, the train has apparently derailed and is already losing some wheels, which will lead to a disaster. The rest of the main European countries and leaders can be seen in the middle coaches. Major is sitting down in a cargo car at the

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<sup>51</sup> During the 1997 campaign the Tories showed themselves vulnerable in Europe. Major was obliged to concede a free vote on the issue in Parliament, requiring allegiance to official policies on Europe only to Cabinet members.

Information available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/special/politics97/background/pastelec/ge97.shtml>.

rear. The image profiles the metaphor POLITICAL INABILITY IS LACK OF CONTROL OVER MOVEMENT, thus suggesting both his inability and his unwillingness to lead the train of the Union, so the UK will be drawn towards disaster. This idea of resistance to orders leading to unavoidable results is also implied by the metonymical representation of WWI. In the EU locomotive the steam chimney, shaped as Kohl's face, instantiates a hybrid metaphor. Kohl's head is decorated with a WWI German helmet which reflects a CLOTH FOR EVENT metonymy symbolizing Germany's imperial past, which arouses negative feelings in British readers.

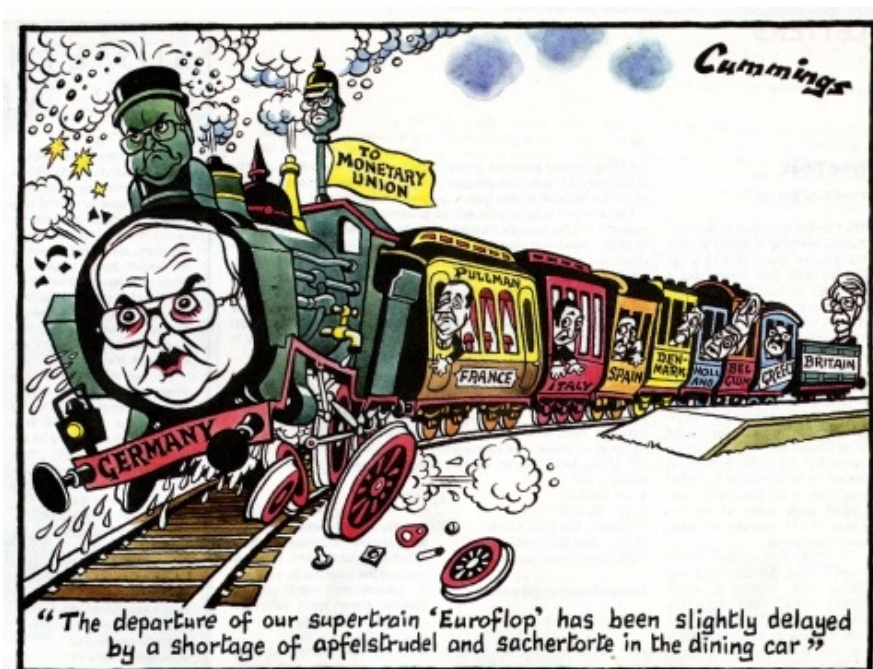


Figure 78. Cummings' cartoon about the future of European integration. *The Times*, 22 February 1997.

In this section, we have seen the main conceptualisation strategies used by the British Conservative press regarding European integration in 1997. The press negatively evaluates the process through a war scenario, thus mirroring the main conceptualisation patterns of the Conservative Party. The issue is also conceptualised as an accident, the victims being Conservative politicians.

### 3.3.2. The 2001-2005 section

#### 3.3.2.1. *Conceptualisation of British national interests in the 2001-2005 section of the manifesto corpus*

The Conservative Party lost the 1997 general election and had three different leaders during the 1997-2005 tenure. At the turn of the century, European economic integration was already in progress. The Euro, as the new European currency came to be known, had already become the official currency of twelve of the fifteen countries which made up the union, except the United Kingdom, Sweden and Denmark. The moderately Europhile British Labour Government debated on whether to join the Euro or stay out, despite media and people support (Bale, 2011). This was still an unresolved issue among the Conservatives, whose main officials divided themselves into Europhiles and Europhobes who worked to achieve the definite ruling out of the Euro. However, as Bale (ibid: 129) remarks:

According to some of Hague's advisers, Europe was worth the time and effort spent on it in the campaign for two reasons. First, it helped divert the media (and it was hoped, the voter) tension from Labour issues on which the Tories, even if they overstated the extent to which the electorate agreed with them on Europe, were even further away from most of the people's preferences. Second, it may have helped minimize the flow to UKIP of people who would ordinarily have voted Conservative – [...].

The political strategy of focusing on European issues underlies the manifestos in the 2001-2005 section of the corpus. Although the 2001 and 2005 manifestos are the shortest of the corpus, amounting to less than 21,000 words, 45 lexical units have been tagged as metaphorically used for BNI purposes. Most of them appear in the sections entitled *A world leader: In Europe, not run by Europe, A military power and a staunch ally, Coming to the aid of others, Taking a lead in the world, A safe haven, not a soft touch, on asylum* of the 2001 manifesto and under two different headings of the 2005 manifesto entitled *Secure Borders and Controlled Immigration* and *Accountability and Defending our Freedoms*.

In the 2001 manifesto, the Conservatives referred to the expansion of the European Union in terms of MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION metaphors:

- (139) The European Union has, with the prospect of enlargement, *reached a fork in the road*. *Down one route* lies a fully integrated superstate with nation states and the national veto disappearing. The Government is *taking us down this route*.

Example (139) depicts a road scenario where the Labour Government under Blair is taking the country along the road of European integration in which a decision –the choice of a route – needs to be made. The description of the first route provides the reader with the meaning of the text. The evident destination of the route is the creation of a superstate and the disappearance of the veto power on decisions – conveniently described as “national” veto, in order to emphasise the importance of the nation-state. The “taking us down” line involves the reluctance on the speaker’s part. In this way the Conservatives describe not only the disadvantages of allowing further European enlargement, but also the reluctance of the British people, with whom they strategically merged through “us”, to integrate further in Europe. This appeal to the population’s opinion can also be noticed in the main slogan of the 2001 campaign, *It’s time for common sense*.

The Conservatives suggest an alternative to European enlargement: the EU member states are a group of people (NATIONS ARE PEOPLE) who can come together:

- (140) The alternative is a Europe of nations *coming together* in different combinations for different purposes and to differing extents. In other words, a *network* Europe.

This position is clarified by a sentence which already appeared in the 1997 manifesto:

- (141) The guiding principle of Conservative policy towards the European Union is to be in Europe, but *not run* by Europe.

The intention of avoiding further integration through the handing in of competences on the member states' part to the European Union is present in the 2005 manifesto:

- (142) we will *settle our relationship* with the european union by bringing powers back from Brussels to Britain.

By conceptualising nations – and by extension, other institutions – as people, physical qualities which are positively evaluated, such as *flexibility*, are mapped onto the European Union. The metaphor is used to criticise enlargement of the European Union, felt as an imposition:

- (143) A more *flexible* European Union

- (144) And our *relations* with the European Union have been mismanaged in a way which threatens not just British interests, but the capacity of the continent to adapt *flexibly* to the future.

Negatively evaluated countries or institutions are also assigned human qualities, especially when it comes to foreign affairs, as in (145):

- (145) We will also end this Government's equivocation over the development by the US of ballistic missile defences. We believe our close ally deserves our support in countering new *threats* from *rogue states* and terrorists equipped with weapons of mass destruction.



The Macmillan Dictionary defines ‘rogue’ as a “ member of a group (who) does not behave in the same way as its other members and is considered dangerous or likely to cause problems”. A secondary meaning is “a rogue wild animal lives apart from other members of its group and is often dangerous”. Therefore, the state may be conceptualised as a person or an animal. However, the pervasiveness of the NATIONS ARE PEOPLE metaphor suggests that this is another instantiation of this metaphor. It then seems that the international community is dealing with members who do not play by the same rules but support terrorism and have mass destruction weapons. Charteris-Black (2009) analysed the rhetorical purpose of the metaphor ‘rogue state’ as a typical expression of the New Labour foreign policy. He found that it was a very common expression in Parliament between 2002 and 2004 due to the Second Gulf War in Iraq and could not only be rhetorically used to establish a clear line of thinking that might be positively interpreted (*logos*), but also as means to arouse emotions (*pathos*). The Conservatives made also use of this metaphor. In fact, unlike opposition parties in other European countries, the Conservative Party supported the Government in the invasion of Iraq in March 2003, and there were less dissentations in the Parliament session which sanctioned the declaration of war than amongst Labour’s ranks.

Finally, the global positioning of the UK is described by means of orientational metaphors, specifically through the conceptual metaphor IMPORTANCE IS CENTRALITY. This is reminiscent of the ‘at the heart of Europe’ metaphor (Musolff, 2016) scenario, thus mapping the importance of European issues to the Conservative Party.

(146) Britain has vast global reach. In a world where geography matters less, Britain is not on the *periphery* of anything. Uniquely, we have a *central* place in the EU, NATO, the Commonwealth and the UN. A Conservative government will be *outward-looking*, using our influence to the full.

The metaphor IMPORTANCE IS CENTRALITY generates a number of entailments. British international relevance is mapped onto central position, despite its geographical position, in contrast with states which cannot exert any influence in the world, which

occupy a peripheral position. At the same time, the fact that Britain is a state concerned about world issues means that it is outward-looking, in contrast with isolated countries, which are inward-looking.

- RELEVANCE IS BEING AT THE CENTRE
- IRRELEVANCE IS BEING ON THE PERIPHERY
- INFLUENCING IS LOOKING OUTWARDS

In this section we have shown the conceptualisation strategies used by the Conservative Party to oppose European enlargement, the main issue concerning BNI during the 2001-2005 general elections. After table 19 shows the main source domains used together with the conceptual metaphor instantiated and the lexical units that activate them.

Table 19 shows the main source domains used in for the conceptualisation of BNI in the 2001-2005 section of the manifesto corpus.

SOURCE DOMAIN	METAPHOR	LEXICAL UNIT
MOVEMENT & DIRECTION	PROGRESS TOWARDS A GOAL IS MOVEMENT ALONG A PATH TOWARD A DESTINATION	<i>advance</i> (1), <i>route</i> (2), <i>road</i> (1), <i>direction</i> (1)
WAR & CONFLICT	INTERNATIONAL POLITICS IS CONFLICT	<i>damage</i> (2), <i>defend</i> (6), <i>combat</i> (5), <i>threat</i> (6), <i>protect</i> (1)
BUILDINGS & CONSTRUCTION	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	<i>strength</i> (6), <i>build</i> (5), <i>undermine</i> (1), <i>framework</i> (1), <i>reinforce</i> (1)
GAMES & SPORTS	ECONOMY IS COMPETITION / POLITICS IS COMPETITION	<i>lead</i> (2), <i>competition</i> (2), <i>punch</i> <i>above our weight</i> (1), <i>unrivalled</i> (1)
HUMAN BODY	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	<i>At the heart of</i> (2), <i>flexibility</i> (2), <i>flexible</i> (8), <i>muscle</i> (1)

Table 19. Metaphorical conceptualisation of BNI in the 2001-2005 section of the manifesto corpus.

### 3.3.2.2. Conceptualisation of British national interests in the 2001-2005 section of the cartoon corpus

In the 2001-2005 section of the cartoon corpus, six cartoons deal with the European Union and only one deals with foreign policy. As pointed out above, the party's leadership was still disputed although Hague had taken power in 1997. In the cartoon shown in figure 79, Peter Brookes, a week before the general election, uses the metaphor EUROPEAN INTEGRATION IS CONFLICT to depict William Hague as a soldier. Political arguments are therefore weapons. The political slogan, 'SAVE THE POUND'<sup>52</sup>, is verbally rendered and its source is visually rendered as a cannon which is firing a cannonball. Right below, the image is slightly different because the cannonball has not gone a long distance and has fallen on the ground. However, the recoil has hit Hague (POLITICAL FAILURE IS HAVING AN ACCIDENT), suggesting that the proposal was not only unsuccessful but harmful to the party's interests.

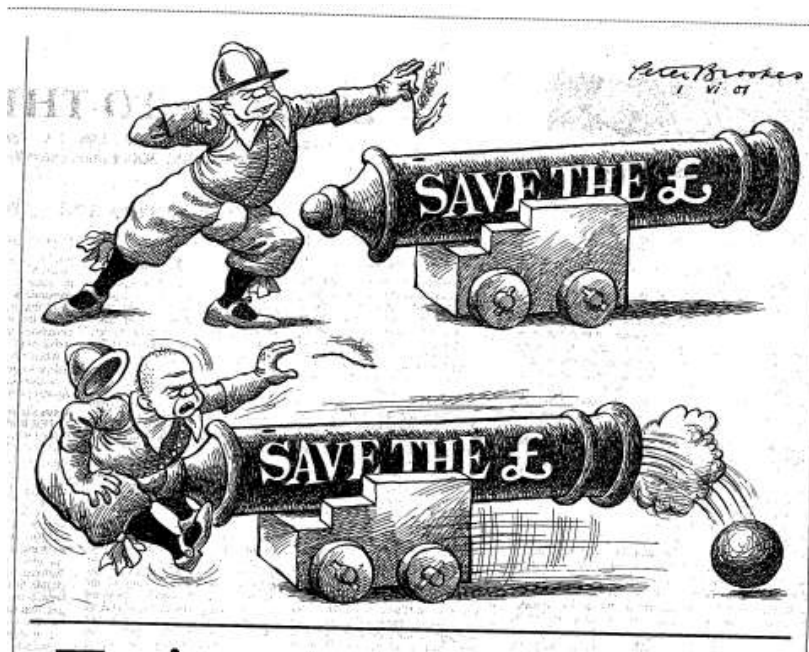


Figure 79. Brookes' cartoon about the effects of the 'Save the Pound' strategy. *The Times*, 1 June 2001.

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<sup>52</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2001/jun/27/conservatives.uk> . The 'Save the Pound' slogan was bitterly criticised by members of the Conservative Party.

The effect of different positions within the party as represented by Hague and Kenneth Clarke is further explored in the next cartoon by Garland (figure 80). Clarke was known to be pro-European, and, by means of one of William Hogarth's engravings – *Columbus breaks an egg* (see figure 81), Garland describes the political situation of the party. Clarke is sitting down in the middle of the composition, surrounded by other Tory leaders, among whom are Iain Duncan Smith, Hague at the back and Michael Portillo on the right. To the right of Iain Duncan Smith there is an unknown character, on whose hat we can read "GRASS ROOTS". The phrase metonymically identifies a group of non-prominent members within the Conservative Party who played an active role by opposing European integration.

Clarke is, like Columbus in the engraving, trying to demonstrate that an egg can stand. The egg is the metaphorical representation of the euro, as the text suggests. The cartoon target is the relationship between Eurosceptic Conservatives and European integration, epitomised in the possible adoption of the single currency by Britain. However, Clarke's only way of making an egg stand is by breaking its shell and flattening its base, which would spoil it. The whole scene triggers a metaphor that can be verbalized as *THE EURO IS AN EGG*. The cartoonist does not only point to the impossibility of making it stand on its own, but also at its fragility. Thus, the implication is that it is impossible for Clarke to convince different sectors of the party about the convenience of joining the euro.



Figure 80. Garland's cartoon about the effects of the euro adoption on the Conservative Party. *The Daily Telegraph*, 27 June 2001.



Figure 81. *Columbus breaks an egg*, by Hogarth (1752).

The last cartoon of this section (figure 82) was published by the Times twenty days after the 2005 general election. It describes one of its main slogans during the campaign. In it we can see how different Conservative politicians, who already featured in figure 80 above, are disguised as Thatcher, with the characteristic apparel such as the handback, pearl necklace and her distinctive hairdo. They are hitting an unidentified politician who tries to escape an assault while uttering "WE WANT OUR MONEY BACK". The

caption at the bottom of the image reads: “AT THE CENTRE OF EUROPE...”, thus showing the target of the cartoon. The words seemingly echo the ‘at the heart of Europe’ metaphor which underlay Conservative discourse since Major times (Charteris-Black, 2016: 39–53). This metonymy-based (HEART FOR PERSON) metaphor maps the importance of the heart as an organ onto the role which Britain should be playing in the European Union. The caption manifests the conceptual metaphors IMPORTANCE IS CENTRALITY and NATIONS ARE PEOPLE.



Figure 82. Morland's cartoon about the "at the heart of Europe" policy. *The Times*, 23 May 2005.

A concordance search produced 5 hits of ‘at the heart of (...)’. The fact that Conservative candidates are disguised as Thatcher is to be interpreted as the defence of the nation state in Conservative manifestos since Thatcher. Therefore, the press was sensitive to Conservative conceptualisation strategies and reinterpreted them.

### 3.3.3. The 2010 section

#### 3.3.3.1. *Conceptualisation of British national interests in the 2010 section of the manifesto corpus*

In the 2010 manifesto, there are 44 lexical units metaphorically used regarding national interest. They show that the Conservative Party under Cameron did not change its viewpoint about the European Union. As the process of European integration advanced, the party opted for a particular course of action regarding the handing over of competences to the European Union. It reflected in the following paragraph:

(147) We will be positive members of the European Union but *we are clear that* there should be no further extension of the EU's power over the UK without the British people's consent.

‘Positive’ is emphatically used here with the meaning of becoming an important, relevant member of the EU. The metaphorical expression ‘to be clear’ reflects the metaphor UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING, thus emphasising confidence and certainty, in an attempt to exploit arguments (*logos*) which can be easily identified and shared by the targeted voters.

The Conservative position towards the European Union is further elaborated in (148) and (149) through metaphors from the source domain of RELIGION AND ETHICS:

(148) *We believe* Britain's interests are best served by membership of a European Union that is an association of its Member States. We will never allow Britain to slide into a federal Europe.

- (149) A Conservative government will negotiate for three specific guarantees on the Charter of Fundamental Rights, on criminal justice, and on social and employment legislation with our European partners to return powers that *we believe* should reside with the UK, not the EU.

In the previous examples we can perceive how the use of ‘believe’ reinforces the party’s stance on European issues. It does not only convey determination, but also high moral ground since the objective is *to serve* Britain (25 out of the 53 instances of ‘serve’ are located in the 2010 section) by not transferring powers to the EU. A concordance search in Antconc reveals that it occurs 42 times in the documents within the 2010 section. In all but six instances, ‘we’ is one of the three preceding words. It is preceded by ‘I’ in half of the six instances, and by ‘Conservatives’ in two instances. Since the vast majority of the agents here are the Conservatives as a whole or Cameron as a leader, I suggest the conceptual metaphor POLITICAL ACTION IS RELIGIOUS PRACTICE, which conveys the party’s determination about particular issues and shows the ultimate goal of its policy.

This is, in fact, a re-enactment of previous Conservative policies towards the EU be it the process of monetary integration (as in the 1997 section) or the Union enlargement and the Constitution (as in the 2001-2005 section). However, instead of setting conflict scenarios which polarise views, the Conservatives resort to a rhetoric which emphasises ethical aspects, thus fostering the creation of a space of shared moral ground with potential voters. The Lisbon Treaty which sanctioned the European Constitution is also referred to and conceptualised within this source domain in the next example:

- (150) Labour's ratification of the Lisbon Treaty without the consent of the British Labour's people has been *a betrayal* of this country's democratic traditions.

However, the metaphorical use of items instantiating metaphors from the source domain of war and conflict is reduced. For example, only one out of 28 instances of



‘fight’ in the 2010 section of the linguistic corpus is devoted to issues of national interest, since most of them depicted domestic issues (151):

(151) And, like every other Member State, we will *fight our corner* to promote our national interests.

(152) European countries *need to work together* to boost global economic growth, *fight* global poverty, and *combat* global climate change.

Example (151) illustrates the use of idiomatic expressions by the Conservatives. The expression ‘fight our corner’, which means ‘argue against somebody in order to defend a position which has been previously criticised’, reflects the metaphor ARGUMENTS ARE FIGHTS. This metaphor conveys determination to defend British national interests. In (152) the same determination is shown towards global poverty and climate change, which helps to position the party in an amiable position towards other member states through the NATIONS ARE PEOPLE metaphor. This is combined with INSTITUTIONS ARE PEOPLE, and INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ARE A BUILDING in (153) and (154):

(153) We will stand for open markets, and a strong transatlantic relationship; for an EU that *looks out to the world*, and that *builds strong and open* relations with rising powers like China and India.

(154) However, we believe that NATO, whilst in need of reform, should remain the *cornerstone* of our defence.

The Conservative Party thus relies on an ethical and religious discourse together with MOVEMENT and DIRECTION metaphors in order to conceptualise BNI issues. CONFLICT metaphors are used to depict the handing over of powers to the EU.

Table 20 shows the main source domains and metaphors underlying BNI in the 2010 manifesto and their lexical instantiations.

<b>SOURCE DOMAIN</b>	<b>METAPHOR</b>	<b>LEXICAL UNIT</b>
MOVEMENT & DIRECTION	PROGRESS TOWARDS A GOAL IS MOVEMENT ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	<i>advance</i> (2), <i>ahead</i> (1), <i>release</i> (1), <i>stop</i> (1)
BUILDINGS & CONSTRUCTION	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	<i>strength</i> (3), <i>strong</i> (5), <i>build</i> (3), <i>firm</i> (2), <i>stable</i> (1)
WAR & CONFLICT	FOREIGN POLICY IS CONFLICT / POLITICS IS CONFLICT	<i>protect</i> (12), <i>threat</i> (16), <i>fight</i> (8), <i>strategy</i> (8), <i>face</i> (7)
GAMES & SPORTS	POLITICS IS COMPETITION	<i>lead</i> (4), <i>competitive</i> (2), <i>fight our corner</i> (1)
OTHER (PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS)	POLITICS IS HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS	<i>leading role</i> (1), <i>close</i> (2), <i>cavalier approach</i> (1)

Table 20. Metaphorical conceptualisation of BNI issues in the 2010 section of the manifesto corpus.

### *3.3.3.2. Conceptualisation of British national interests in the 2010 section of the cartoon corpus*

The 2010 section of the cartoon contains few cartoons dealing with the Conservative Party and the European Union for two main reasons. First, the Conservatives had been in the opposition for 13 years, which involved a loss of influence on European matters. Second, they regained power in May 2010, which means that the first problems in the Eurozone during the 2008 turmoil arose while the Labour Party was still in power. Therefore, there are only 6 cartoons concerning the Conservative Party's management of European issues, while 10 cartoons are concerned with the first foreign policy measures adopted by the new government.

Once a coalition Government was formed, Cameron appointed William Hague – the Conservative candidate for the 2001 general election – Foreign Secretary. In figure 83, Hague’s face, superimposed on his distinctive bald, is part of a world map, showing Central and North America. The target of the cartoon is cued by the caption “A DISTICTLY BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY...”. In the map the UK is strikingly close to the eastern coast of the United States. Apparently, the cartoon triggers the conceptual metaphor IDEOLOGICAL SIMILARITY IS PHYSICAL PROXIMITY. The author refers to the special relationship between the UK and the US which is described in the 2010 manifesto. However, the word “distinctly”, and the fact that North America is in the centre of the image (IMPORTANCE IS CENTRALITY), points to an ironically reformulated metaphor OBEDIENCE IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS, since Brookes seemingly criticises the lack of a distinctive British policy.

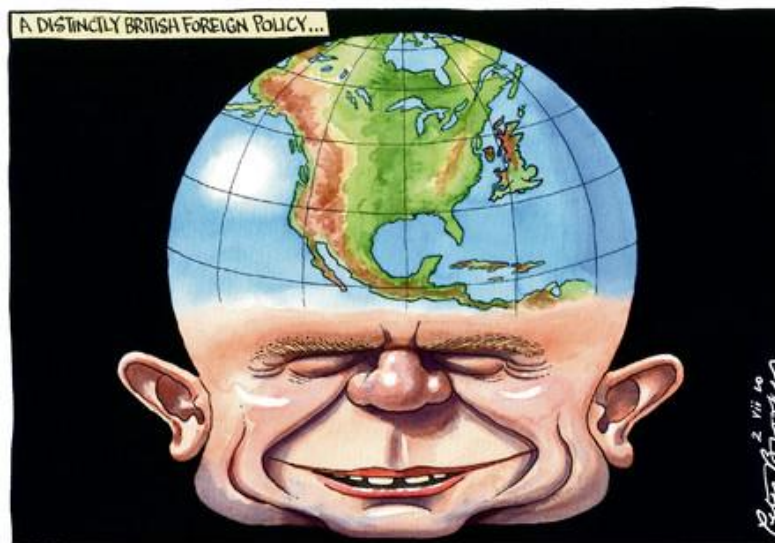


Figure 83. Brookes’ cartoon about British foreign policy. *The Times*, 2 July 2010.

The cartoon shown in figure 84 below depicts a government action connected with the European Union. The cartoon published by Brookes in *The Times* on 3<sup>rd</sup> November 2010 imitates a 19<sup>th</sup> century portrait, in which military heroes are immortalised. In the foreground we see Nicholas Sarkozy, the French President at the time, dressed in military clothes from the Napoleonic era. Right behind him, David Cameron is dressed

in the distinctive British red coat uniform from the same period. The target of the cartoon is metonymically rendered through the military clothes (PART FOR WHOLE). At the same time, both politicians stand for their respective countries. There is a meaningful pictorial detail: the French President's arms are inert, and it is Cameron's right hand that is introduced in the French President's uniform, which is reminiscent of Napoleon's portraits, more precisely of the 1812 portrait by Jacques-Louis David entitled *The Emperor Napoleon in His Study at the Tuileries* (figure 85). This action contrasts with the original intention, probably signifying that the French President is being manipulated by Cameron, as if the French President was a puppet and Cameron a ventriloquist, which activates the metaphor POLITICAL CONTROL IS CONTROL OVER MOVEMENT.



Figure 84. Brookes' cartoon about Cameron's plans. *The Times*, 3 November 2010.

The cartoon echoes the news of the signing of a bilateral treaty between the UK and France on military collaboration, bypassing the multinational body European Corps created by the European Union<sup>53</sup>.

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<sup>53</sup> Despite the bypass, in some newspapers this signing is regarded as one of the facts that eventually made Cameron adopt a more pro-European stance.  
<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/oct/24/cameron-europe-eu-referendum-vote>.



Figure 85. *The Emperor Napoleon in His Study at the Tuileries* (Jacques-Louis David, 1812).

The last cartoon in the 2010 section (figure 86) evokes the first European Council meeting, held in October 2010, that the Conservatives had to attend when they were in power and the Eurozone was going through a crisis. The new Conservative government had previously spoken against the proposals and eventually fought to reduce budget increases in an attempt to implement its policy of boosting the power of states<sup>54</sup>. Garland draws on a musical premiere scenario that the Conservative government is attending. The musical title is *Le Misérable EUROPE*, this word serving as the target of the cartoon. At the main entrance, we see a woman wearing a typical French bonnet, which evokes the musical *Les Misérables*. However, the woman's face traits are similar to Cameron's. In the fashion of critical reviews, "6% BUDGET INCREASE" and "Long Term Budget Sustainment" can be read. These were the main points of the agenda for that meeting. The author seems to criticise the budget increases demanded by the European Union when all European states were struggling with deficit, as we have seen in the economic section of this study.

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<sup>54</sup> The outcomes of the meeting can be consulted in [https://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms\\_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/117496.pdf](https://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/117496.pdf). Cameron tried to obtain political credit out of the outcomes of the meetings. Information available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/nov/01/david-cameron-crazy-rise-eu-budget>



Figure 86. Garland's cartoon about the first European Council meeting. *The Daily Telegraph*, 29 October 2010.

### 3.3.4. The 2015 section

#### 3.3.4.1. Conceptualisation of British national interests in the 2015 section of the manifesto corpus

There are 51 lexical units metaphorically used to conceptualise BNI issues in the 2015 manifesto. Most of them were found in the section entitled *Keeping your country secure*. The so-called relationship between the UK and the European Union was one of the main foci of attraction during the 2015 campaign. On 23 January 2013, in a speech on the EU Mr Cameron promised an in-out referendum<sup>55</sup>, which eventually materialised on 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2016. The pledge was introduced in the manifesto, thus becoming one of the most relevant issues of the campaign, together with the collateral issues that

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<sup>55</sup> For an analysis of the speech see Charteris-Black, 2014: 219–241.

partially caused that decision, such as the Eurozone crisis and migration issues, which will be analysed in the following section.

The Conservative Party framed the issue in terms of metaphors from various source domains, depending on the intended purpose. The first goal was to pledge for “real change in our relationship with the European Union”. The question of what the change should consist in is answered through the conceptual metaphor POLITICAL POWER IS FLUID MOTION, as seen in (155):

(155) We want to see powers *flowing away* from Brussels, not to it.

This is reinforced through metaphors from the domain of CONFLICT, allowing for the creation of a scenario in which Britain – or the Government on its behalf, is forced to adopt a defensive position against the attacks of the European Union, which consist in further integration:

(156) We will *protect* our economy from any further integration of the Eurozone.

(157) We want to ensure that new rules target unscrupulous behaviour in the financial services industry, while *safeguarding* Britain as a global centre of excellence in finance. So we *will resist EU attempts* to restrict legitimate financial services activities.

The position of Britain within the EU is also described in terms of movement in a scenario where the EU impedes movement and sets barriers to European economic development. This is exemplified through metaphors from the domain of MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION. More specifically, the Conservative Party is against any type of regulation within the EU, which is considered to be an obstacle to free movement, as in (158) and (159):

(158) We want an EU that helps Britain *move ahead*, not one that *holds us back*.

(159) We want to expand the Single Market, *breaking down the remaining barriers* to trade and ensuring that new sectors are opened up to British firms.

In examples (160–162), the treatment of foreign affairs is based on the rhetorical strategy of personalisation (THE STATE IS A PERSON), and, in line with the other sections, on CONFLICT/SPORT metaphors, inasmuch as challenges and threats are *tackled*:

(160) Tackling global *challenges* to make you safer and more prosperous

(161) A Britain *standing tall* in the world.

(162) A stronger *voice* for our nation on the world stage.

In (163) there is an interplay between the domains of SPORT and PLANTS to conceptualise terrorism, since the problem is represented as a plant, whose origins are roots.

(163) We need to *tackle it at root*, before it takes the form of violence and terror.

The Conservative vision about Britain internationally involves increasing its influence. The party claims a dominant position for Britain (161), which is built upon the orientational metaphor MORE IS UP. At the same time, the personalisation of Britain is realised through the framing and entailments below, instantiating POLITICAL ACTION IS ARTISTIC PERFORMANCE:

- THE WORLD IS A STAGE
- OTHER STATES ARE MEMBERS OF THE AUDIENCE



- POLITICAL INFLUENCE IS HAVING A VOICE

EU membership is not desired by the Conservative Party, which instead opts for the stability of the institutions which have been the spearhead of its foreign affairs policy since the Second World War, such as NATO. Such stability is shaped through the conceptual metaphor FOREIGN AFFAIRS POLICY IS A BUILDING. Institutions are thus seen as building blocks, in which NATO and, by extension, the relationship with the U.S. are essential, as shown in (164):

- (164) Again, the Conservatives we will continue to ensure that defence policy remains firmly under British national control, maintaining NATO and the transatlantic relationship as the *cornerstones* of our defence and security policy.

Throughout this section we have looked at the conceptualisation patterns used by the Conservative Party to convey its view of the European Union. Its Eurosceptic branch backed up the nation-state as the way to articulate both the foreign affairs policy and European policy issues. Religious metaphors serve to support its ideology in the 1997 and 2010 sections. JOURNEY metaphors illustrate the disappointment at the process of European enlargement and the virtues of the single market in the 1997 section. CONFLICT metaphors are first employed to state the aims of the foreign affairs policy, and later on, in the 2010 and 2015 sections, to highlight the need for resistance against European legislation, creating a ‘us vs. them’ policy which would eventually lead to the referendum in 2016. The personification of Britain is pervasive and accounts for the linguistic metaphor ‘a *relationship* with the EU, which needs to be *comfortable* for Britain. As Musolff (2016: 95) points out: “[...] the STATE AS PERSON metaphor plays to this day a central role in theories of the sovereign rights of states to go to war or make peace with each other and the national legal commitments they enter into”.

Table 21 shows the main source domains used in the conceptualisation of BNI issues and the lexical items instantiating them.

<b>SOURCE DOMAIN</b>	<b>METAPHOR</b>	<b>LEXICAL UNIT</b>
WAR & CONFLICT	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	<i>threat</i> (10), <i>strategy</i> (5), <i>protect</i> (4), <i>safeguard</i> (3)
MOVEMENT & DIRECTION	PROGRESS TOWARDS A GOAL IS MOVEMENT ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	<i>stop</i> (5), <i>haven</i> (3), <i>path</i> (1), <i>reverse</i> (1), <i>hold back</i> (1)
BUILDINGS & CONSTRUCTION	DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOVEMENT	<i>strength</i> (11), <i>stable</i> (3), <i>undermine</i> (2), <i>barrier</i> (2)
OTHER (PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS)	POLITICAL ALLEGIANCE IS PHYSICAL DISTANCE/ NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	<i>close</i> (3), <i>bossy</i> (1), <i>friend</i> (1), <i>aggressive</i> (1),
GAMES & SPORT	POLITICS IS COMPETITION/ ECONOMY IS COMPETITION	<i>lead</i> (4), <i>win</i> (1), <i>kick off</i> (1), <i>player</i> (1)

Table 21. Metaphorical conceptualisation of BNI in the 2015 section of the manifesto corpus.

#### 3.3.4.2. Conceptualisation of British national interests in the 2015 section of the cartoon corpus

The 2015 section of the cartoon corpus consists of 22 cartoons. The relationship between the UK and the European Union has been controversial since Cameron took office in 2010. Due to pressures from the right-wing sector of his party, Cameron was forced to propose a referendum on whether the UK should remain within the European Union. The issue became then part of the electoral campaign and was one of the main topics after the election. The position of the country depended on the government which would be elected.

Five cartoons relied on a show scenario to frame the UK negotiations with the European Union. They instantiate the conceptual metaphor POLITICAL ACTION IS ARTISTIC PERFORMANCE, which reflects the relevance of European issues for the Conservatives through the metaphorical configuration of the EU policy as a stage. The cartoon shown in figure 87 depicts the situation in terms of a metaphor based on intertextuality. Precisely that weekend, another edition of the EUROVISION song contest was going to be held. Bob resorts to this event to create the metaphor DELIVERING A SPEECH IS SINGING A SONG. The reader's interpretation is based on the reception of the performance, and is cued in both verbal ("NUL POINTS/ THE NIGEL FARAGE SONGBOOK") and pictorial modes, such as the expression of surprise and discontent in Hollande, Merkel and Juncker's faces (GESTURES FOR FEELINGS), who metonymically stand for their institutions (RULERS FOR INSTITUTIONS).



Figure 87. Bob's cartoon about Cameron's performance at the EU Summit. *The Sunday Telegraph*, 23 May 2015.

The same metaphor is profiled in the cartoon shown in figure 88.



Figure 88. Brookes' cartoon about Cameron's performance at the EU summit. *The Times*, 23 May 2015.

The use of a performance scenario allowed for the following metaphorical sub-mappings:

- CAMERON IS A CONTESTANT.
- EU POLICY IS THE STAGE.
- THE PRESIDENT OF THE COMMISSION AND THE GERMAN CHANCELLOR ARE JURORS.
- THE SPEECH IS THE SONGBOOK.
- POLITICAL POINTS ARE HITS.
- POLITICAL RECEPTION OF THE SPEECH ARE AWARDED POINTS.

In the cartoon shown in figure 89, Bob shows the newly elected Government's expectations at the EU council meeting on the basis of another ongoing popular event, the Wimbledon tennis tournament. The target is verbally manifested: the expression "BRITISH HOPES" yields the metaphor BRITISH (GOVERNMENT) HOPES ABOUT THE EU ARE A TENNIS NET, which is based on the metaphor PROBLEMS ARE OBSTACLES and subsumed into the metaphor A EUROPEAN COUNCIL MEETING IS A TENNIS MATCH. Bob uses the image schema SOURCE-PATH-GOAL, with obstacles impeding movements

in a tennis match scenario. Several submappings can be easily inferred: (1) The President of the European Commission, who metonymically stands for the European Union, is the umpire; (2) Germany, represented by Mrs Merkel, is a ball girl ready to retrieve the ball after it has hit the net. The ball can be interpreted as the British proposal for the European Council meeting. This, together with the fact that there are no balls left and no opponent is on the other side of the net, indicates the cartoonist's stance on the Prime Minister's over-optimism.



Figure 89. Bob's cartoon about Cameron's expectations. *The Daily Telegraph*, 27 June 2015.

The next cartoon (figure 90) relies on the domain of natural disasters and triggers the metaphor BREXIT IS A NATURAL DISASTER FOR THE EU. The metaphor has a metonymic basis: on the one hand, the symbol of a storm in a weather forecast stands for the weather phenomenon (REPRESENTATION FOR EVENT), and Cameron is metonymically represented by his face (FACE FOR PERSON). The fusion of his face and the symbol of a hurricane generates the hybrid metaphor (Forceville 1996: 163) DAVID CAMERON AS A HURRICANE, cued by the title on the top-left part. Germany, metonymically represented by Merkel, only uses an umbrella, which is more than enough since only a drop is falling from above. The umbrella is noticeably smaller than average (IMPORTANCE IS SIZE), thus suggesting that UK's withdrawal from the EU will have little or no effect on

Germany, or the EU, since Germany is perceived as the most important country in the EU<sup>56</sup>.

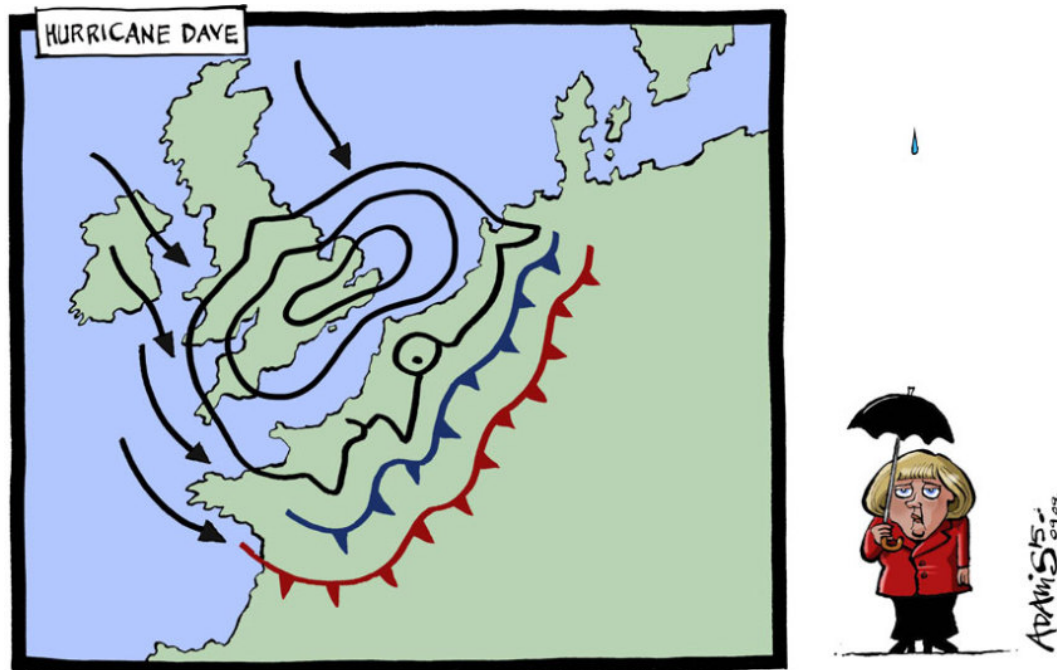


Figure 90. Adams' cartoon about Cameron against the EU. *The Daily Telegraph*, 9 September 2015.

Four cartoons in this section rely on the source domain of MOVEMENT and DIRECTION. A slightly more critical approach is taken by Morland. In the cartoon shown in figure 91 he again draws on cultural events to depict political issues. The cartoon focuses on the referendum proposal. The target is verbally cued by the words 'EU REFERENDUM', whereas the source – an apparently runaway horse – is visually manifested through the source domain of ANIMALS, thus dysphemistically pointing at the irrationality of the in/out referendum. The metaphor that can be formulated is THE EU REFERENDUM PROPOSAL IS A RUNAWAY HORSE, which suggests problems in managing the issue, equating the evolution of this process to animal behaviour. The horse is mounted by Cameron, a jockey that exerts little control over the beast (LACK OF

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<sup>56</sup> An example of this can be seen in a piece of news published 3 days after figure 90: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/economics/11854140/Warring-France-and-Germany-are-still-the-biggest-threats-to-the-EUs-superstate-dream.html>.



POLITICAL CONTROL IS LACK OF CONTROL OVER MOVEMENT), which at the same time is running over Harriet Hartman, a Labour politician who acted as the opposition leader at the time, only three weeks after losing the 2015 general election.



Figure 91. Morland's cartoon about the EU referendum proposal. *The Times*, 25 May 2015.

Two other cartoons rely on accident scenarios, such as the one shown in figure 92. A blue plane metonymically stands for the European Union, as the letters "EUROP" can be read on the fuselage. The EU stars can also be identified as the livery on the plane's tail. The rest of the plane is covered by smoke, which stands for fire (EFFECT FOR CAUSE), and renders a fire metaphor within the schema MAKING CONTROVERSIAL ARGUMENTS IS SETTING FIRE. Cameron is about to jump off the plane, thus disobeying Juncker's orders of sitting down. However, the plane is grounded, meaning that the EU is not on the move or is in the early stages of its development. There is a detail which is worth mentioning. In the cockpit window, there seems to be a glass of wine, a further sign of an impending disaster. In the previous years, the head of the European Commission, Juncker, faced strong criticism from the British press for heavy drinking<sup>57</sup>.

<sup>57</sup> <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/world/europe/article4421848.ece>. Junckers denied drinking.

Therefore, it seems safe to assume that the glass of wine metonymically stands for the drinking problem (CAUSE FOR EFFECT).



Figure 92. Morland's cartoon about Cameron and the State of the Union. *The Times*, 15 September 2015.

The cartoon shown in figure 93 is one of the two cartoons in the section drawing from the domain of COOKING and FOOD. The same two politicians are depicted within the framework of the negotiations that led to the celebration of the in-out referendum in June 2016. They are sitting down at both ends of a long table and having dinner. The distance metaphorically reflects different political standpoints. Strikingly, there is no food on the plates, and Cameron's glass of wine is full, while Juncker's is already empty, highlighting the differences between them. Instead Juncker has a big book (SIZE FOR QUANTITY), and says that he has a list of dietary requirements for Cameron, who stands metaphorically for Britain. The verbal metaphor that can be formulated is POLITICAL REQUIREMENTS ARE DIETARY REQUIREMENTS. The cartoon highlights not only the difference between Britain and the EU political stands, but also the unfairness of



European requirements, because while every country has to meet requirements, which is shown as having no food on a plate, Juncker's glass is already empty.



Figure 93. Morland's cartoon about European requirement. *The Times*, 26 May 2015.

Regarding foreign affairs, out of the six cartoons targeting Britain's influence and its role in international affairs, four draw on the domain of GAMES AND SPORTS. Figure 94 features Cameron and Putin. Cameron is wearing fitness garments, and a topless Putin is wearing military trousers. They are looking at each other, while doing some weightlifting. Cameron is lifting dumbbells effortlessly while defying Putin, who is lifting much more weight without effort, although not at the same height. One of the first commitments after the 2015 general election was to save 3 billion pounds. One of the affected sectors was defence. At the same time, Russia was reported to be going through some financial difficulties in its military muscle. We can see two metonymies at work here: LEADER FOR COUNTRY, and INSTRUMENT FOR INSTITUTION – Putin is wearing military boots and trousers, which hints at the target of the cartoon: military power. The metaphor that can be formulated is HAVING AN ARMY IS LIFTING WEIGHTS, which is based on QUALITY IS HEIGHT and QUANTITY IS SIZE. This interpretation is backed by Cameron's claim that the UK would not meet the NATO's military spending requirements of the year, whereas the Russian army's budget was increasing.

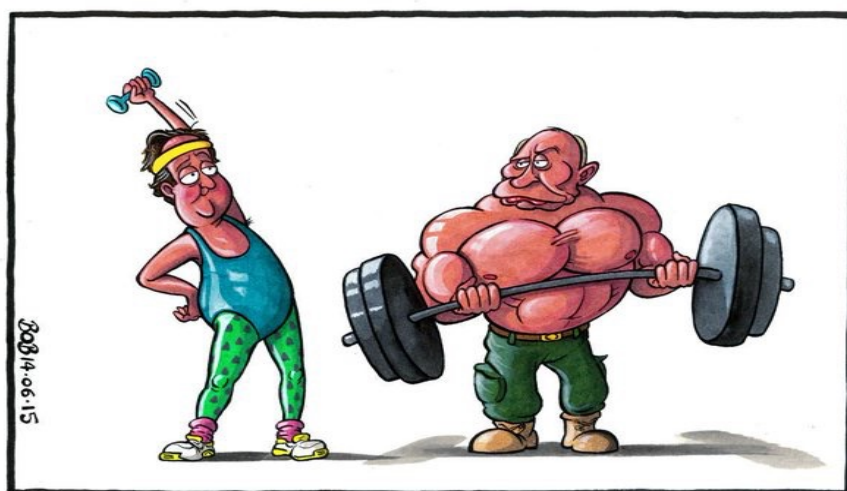


Figure 94. Bob's cartoon about Britain's military muscle as compared with Russia. *The Daily Telegraph*, 14 June 2015.

Similarly, in the next cartoon (figure 95), Adams compares Britain with China by portraying Cameron and the Chinese leader, Xi Jinping, who came on a state visit in October 2015. Both leaders are at a state dinner, waiting to be served. Xi is smiling and holding two oversized knife and fork, while Cameron has chopsticks lying on the table. The knife and fork, which metonymically represent Western products, cue the arch-metaphor QUANTITY IS SIZE, while the chopsticks stand for typical Chinese products. A 'MADE IN CHINA' label can be read on the knife. Cameron is red-faced and bows as if ashamed for having to buy Western products manufactured in China. During the visit, the UK signed a deal worth 40 billion pounds with China to build the new generation of nuclear plants. The image thus triggers the metaphor DOMINATING NUCLEAR POWER IS KNOWING TO USE CUTLERY.

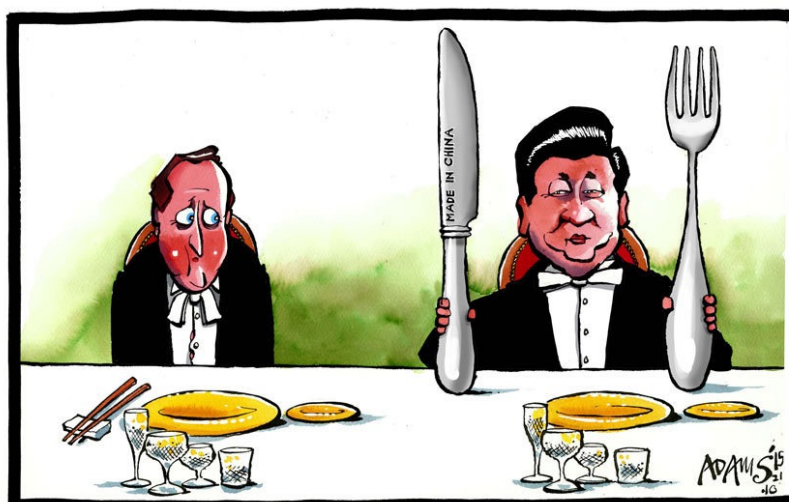


Figure 95. Bob's cartoon about the Chinese state visit. *The Daily Telegraph*, 21 October 2015.

Finally, the dominant role played by the UK is depicted through a chess game in the cartoon shown in figure 96. The target is activated through the name of relevant countries and the terms 'ISIL' and 'KURDS'. The image profiles the metaphor INTERNATIONAL POLICY IS A CHESS GAME, foregrounding the Syria war by means of two faced-off horses, which are part of the subsequent mapping INTERNATIONAL ACTORS ARE CHESS PIECES. The target is also visually cued by drops of blood (RESULT FOR CAUSE) and a bomb dropping (INSTRUMENT FOR EVENT). The rest of pieces are placed according to their assessed value and actual power. Strikingly, they are far away from the conflict, which yields another metaphor, POLITICAL IRRELEVANCE IS PHYSICAL DISTANCE). The visual metaphor UK IS A PAWN maps the features of pawns in chess strategy, namely inoffensiveness, dispensability and little value. This international conflict eventually spread to the Turkish borders. This is verbally suggested by the words 'KURDS', 'ISIL' and 'TURKEY', which instantiate the metonymy PARTICIPANTS FOR EVENT.

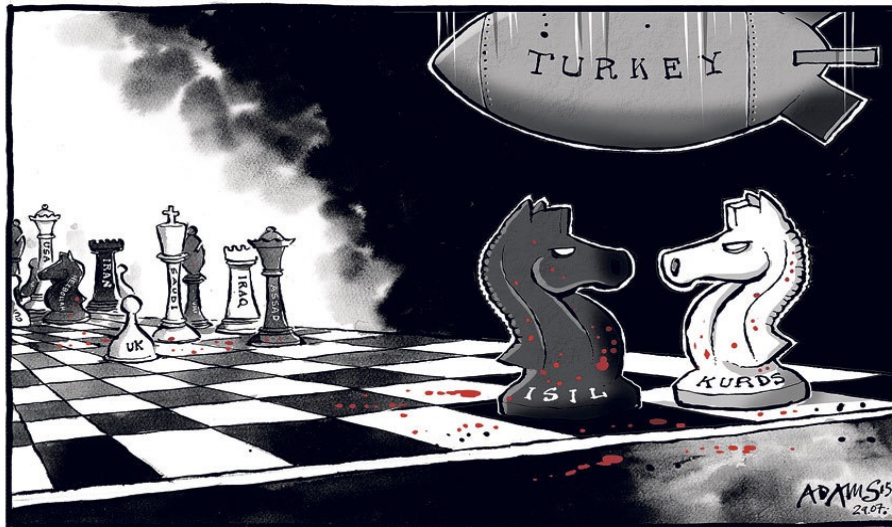


Figure 96. Adams' cartoon about the international role of the UK. *The Daily Telegraph*, 27 November 2015.

### 3.3.5 Comparison and discussion of the results in the BNI section.

Throughout section 4.3. we have studied the conceptualisation strategies employed by the Conservative Party in national interest issues. The globalisation process and European integration are particularly relevant in this section. In general terms, we claim that the cautious and sceptical attitude about Europe adopted by the Conservative Party did not change throughout the period. The party consistently relied on metaphors from the domains of WAR and CONFLICT to express their resistance to further European integration. It often adopted a defensive approach based on the prevalence of the state over international organisations such as the European Union and the global hegemony of the UK as a primary actor in foreign affairs.

As far as the manifestos are concerned, the source domain of WAR and CONFLICT is pervasive in 1997 and 2015. The Conservatives used a polarisation strategy based on WAR and SPORT metaphors to reinforce the nation-state against European integration.

The views of the Conservative Party dramatically contrast with the vision of the press. In the cartoons selected European integration was perceived as a threat to the party's unity and electoral outcomes in 1997, 2001 and 2005, as reflected in the metaphor EU POLICY IS CONFLICT (3 instances) and MOVEMENT metaphors to depict accident scenarios in which Conservative politicians are injured in the general elections of 1997, 2001 and 2005. This conceptualisation based on conflict is reinforced by the explicit references to World War I, World War II and the Napoleonic wars in the portrayal of historical French and German leaders who once represented a threat to the UK, such as Napoleon Bonaparte.

During the Cameron tenure, this stance turned into a sceptical attitude about the effort made by the Conservative Party to achieve its goals in Europe, so that cartoonists highlighted the lack of productive results or control over European issues. Interestingly, both manifesto and cartoon sections in 2010 and 2015 make use of the conceptualisation of the metaphor STATE AS A PERSON. In cartoons, this is done through the metonymic representation of LEADER FOR INSTITUTION, which activates the conceptual metaphor NATIONS ARE PEOPLE. At the same time, it was shown how in international issues states are conceptualised as people, thus mapping a series of features onto the relationship of the UK with the rest of the European Union and the international community. In the cartoon corpus, this allows for the activation of performance scenarios (4 instances in 2015) where Cameron needs to perform in front of an audience made up by European leaders. In the last cartoons of this section Cameron is compared with the Russian and Chinese leaders, which shows the critical stance of centre-right newspapers towards the role played by the UK in globalisation, somehow clinging to the UK's imperial past.

### 3.4.CONCEPTUALISATION OF DOMESTIC ISSUES

This chapter intends to explain the main strategies used to conceptualise domestic issues by the Conservative Party in its manifestos and *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph* in their editorial cartoons in the years when general elections were held within the 1997-2015 period. ‘Domestic issues’ is to be understood here as a cover term for those aspects of British life which are not included in British national interest, political leadership or economic issues. We will analyse, then, the political controversies over the management of British public services such as education and the NHS, parliamentary reform, and immigration.

The chapter is organised as follows: section 3.4.1. deals with the conceptualisation of domestic issues in the 1997 section of the manifesto corpus and the cartoon corpus. Section 3.4.2. is concerned with the 2001-2005 section of both corpora, while Section 3.4.3. focuses on the 2010 section and section 3.4.4. analyses the 2015 section. Finally, section 3.4.5. discusses and compares the findings.

#### 3.4.1. The 1997 section

##### *3.4.1.1. Conceptualisation of domestic issues in the 1997 section of the manifesto corpus*

This subsection seeks to describe the proposals made by the Conservative Party after almost twenty years in power. The party had stayed in office since 1979. Thatcher resigned in 1990 and the party faced political scandals<sup>58</sup> and internal division over leadership, which led to a record in the loss of membership figures. It was also confronted with the future of the European Union -subsections 4.3.3.1. and 4.3.3.2., and

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<sup>58</sup> Farrell et al. (1998) carry out quantitative research on the Conservative candidates affected by scandals and their electoral outcome.

even the structure of the UK was at stake, as we will see below. A whole section is devoted to the Constitution in the 1997 manifesto. The manifesto develops a particular component of the Conservative ideology, i.e. nationalism<sup>59</sup>, as illustrated by the following passages:

(165) Alone in Europe, the history of the United Kingdom has been one of stability and security; we owe much of that to the strength and stability of our constitution - the institutions, laws and traditions *that bind us together as a nation*.

Thus, as already noticed in 3.1.1.1. and 3.3.1.1., in 1997 the Conservative Party advocated for a strong state relying on a stable constitution due to both electoral reasons and as a way to deal with inner dissent between Europhiles and Europhobes. It is worth noting that one of the main peculiarities of the UK constitution is that it is not compiled in single document. It has been built upon custom law, court sentences and, in recent years, through parliamentary activity.

In the example above, the source domains of BUILDINGS and CLOTHING interplay in the construct of a modern nation state. By appealing to the UK history, the Conservatives cue the metaphor A NATION IS A BUILDING. The domain of BUILDING is the framework that allows for the representation of the British constitution as the cornerstone or pillar of the building, which needs to remain strong and stable. Following a logical set of entailments, institutions, laws and traditions are regarded as the mortar which binds the people “*as a nation*”.

The concept ‘nation state’ is deliberately used in the 1997 manifesto. Actually, out of the eight instances of ‘nation state’ and its plural inflections in the corpus, six

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<sup>59</sup> It has been pointed out by Fairclough (2000) and Heath et al. (2001) and the press, as shown in <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/1982/jun/16/thatcher.uk>.

occur in the 1997 manifesto. The current position of the nation state is also conceptualised in terms of WAR AND CONFLICT:

- (166) The European social model is failing. The nation state is under threat. We must respond to these challenges.

There is quantitative evidence in the 1997 section that BUILDINGS and CONSTRUCTION metaphors were used to conceptualise institutions within the general metaphor COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS. In the 1997 section of the corpus there are 15 different lexical units which trigger metaphors from the domain of BUILDING. For example, 'build' is used 20 times to shape domestic issues.

The metaphorical expression 'structure' (5 tokens) is used to conceptualise benefit schemes and legal aid. 'Balance' and 'stability' (13 tokens) are desired features of social institutions, as shown in examples (167–170):

- (167) Our reforms have made these services more responsive to the public by *breaking up cumbersome bureaucratic structures* and shifting power to small responsive local institutions and the people who work in them.

- (168) And we have shown how it is possible to tackle the economic and social problems alongside new investment in buildings - where possible, bringing in a greater mix of public tenants and private housing to recreate a more *balanced* community.

- (169) To preserve that *stability in future* - and the freedoms and rights of our citizens - we need to continue a process of evolution, not revolution.



(170) The Union between Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland and England *underpins our nation's stability*.

Other sectors of the state, such as education, are also conceptualised in terms of BUILDING metaphors:

(171) Literacy is the *building block* of all future learning: English is the global language of commerce and, much more, a thing of beauty.

BUILDING metaphors are often used in the representation of domestic issues along with other source domains to complement their rhetorical effect. For example, example (172) cues the metaphor THE CONSTITUTION IS A PIECE OF CLOTHING (6 instantiations). The constitution is a cloth, which has been woven by a triplet of elements (knowledge, experience and history):

(172) Our constitution has been *stable*, but not *static*. It has *been woven over* the centuries - the product of hundreds of years of knowledge, experience and history.

Example (172) is to be interpreted as an attempt of the Conservative Party to position itself against the constitutional reform advocated by New Labour.

In order to fully understand the conceptualisation of a nation as a piece of clothing and what it meant for the Conservatives in 1997, it is necessary to distinguish between the concepts of nation, state and nation-state. First, in political science, the term 'nation state' differs from 'state'. The cultural connotation of the term 'nation' is generally accepted in politics, while the term 'state', which is the legal term from which International Law has developed is, as Nettl (1968: 562) remarks:

In the first place, it is a collectivity that summates a set of functions and structures in order to generalize their applicability. This definition puts the concept on a peer-dimension with nation, territory, or sovereignty in law.

‘State’ is thus a concept which emphasises the elements of sovereignty, government, population and territory. Lentner (1984), mentioning Kramer (1984), signals the main components of the state, namely (1) territory, (2) population, (3) continuity, (4) government, (5) functions (security, order/justice, welfare), (6) resources, (7) finances, (8) bureaucracy, (9) sovereignty, and (10) existence as part of a society of states.

In contrast, the nation-state is, as emphasised by the UNESCO webpage<sup>60</sup> citing Smelser and Baltes (2001):

The nation as we think of it today is a product of the nineteenth century. In modern times nation is conceptualised as ‘the’ political community that ensures the legitimacy of the state over its territory, and transforms the state into the state of all its citizens. The notion of ‘nation-state’ emphasizes this new alliance between nation and state. Nationality is supposed to bind the citizen to the state, a bond that will be increasingly tied to the advantages of a social policy in as much as the Welfare State will develop.

For the Conservative Party in 1997 the UK is a nation-state, which means that the four nations – England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland – act as individual nations represented under the United Kingdom. By contrast, the Labour Party under Blair, a Scotsman himself, had promised to hold a referendum within the next six months after the general election where voters in Scotland would decide whether they wanted a national parliament. The position of the Conservative Party on the issue was clear: it warned about the dangers of constitutional reform, as shown in (173).

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<sup>60</sup> Information available at:

<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/international-migration/glossary/nation-state/>

It was difficult for the Conservative Party to adopt the concept of society, given their individualistic approach. The term ‘society’ has only 10 hits in the 1997 section. The Conservatives resort to different terms such as ‘community’, which maps the connection between individuals pursuing a common objective, and their discourse manifests the metaphor COMPLEX SOCIAL SYSTEMS ARE PIECE OF CLOTHING. In (175), we also find that the conceptual metaphor LABOUR POLICY IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE is employed to point at the danger brought by the Labour Party.

(173) There is, of course, an alternative on offer: to load costs on business while calling it "stakeholding"; to increase the role of the state, while calling it "the community"; to succumb to a centralised Europe while calling it "not being isolated"; *to break up* our country while calling it “devolution”.

(174) Its proceeds will *weave* a new, rich *thread* of opportunity and charity into the *tapestry* of British life.

(175) We believe this is the right way to go. By contrast, the development of new assemblies in Scotland and Wales *would create strains which could well pull apart the Union*. That would create a new layer of government which would be hungry for power. It would risk rivalry and conflict between these parliaments or assemblies and the parliament at Westminster.

The only token of ‘devolution’ in the 1997 section (6 in 2015) is found in (173). Its political alternative, parliamentarism from London, is suggested by IMPORTANCE IS CENTRALITY, again highlighting the value of existing institutions as a basic element of the Union:

- (176) While preserving the role of parliament *at the centre of the Union*, we have given new powers to the Scottish Grand Committee and Welsh Grand Committee - enabling Scottish and Welsh MPs to call Ministers to account and debate legislation which affects those countries - something that would be impossible with separate Assemblies. For the first time, Welsh members of parliament can ask their questions to Ministers in Welsh in Wales. Most recently we have similarly extended the basic powers of the Northern Ireland Grand Committee.

The most pervasive source domain in the 1997 manifesto is MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION, from which 25 lexical units are used to conceptualise domestic issues. The following passages seek to move Conservative voters into the polls through the metaphor POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION. Again, in line with neo-liberal policies, the Conservatives position themselves against regulations, which are depicted in terms of obstacles to free movement.

- (177) Schools are stronger and more effective where head-teachers and governors can shape their own distinctive character. Sometimes that means developing a speciality in some subjects. Sometimes it means selecting children by their aptitudes: where parents want this *we should not stand in their way*. Special abilities should be recognised and encouraged.

There is also evidence in the corpus of the configuration of political measures as actions performed by a single individual, namely the state. The metaphor THE STATE IS A PERSON is a variant of Mussolf's (2010, 2016) NATIONS ARE PEOPLE.

- (178) Conservatives believe that a healthy society encourages people to accept responsibility for their own lives. A *heavy-handed* and intrusive state can do enormous damage.

Through the personification of institutions ruled by Labour, the Conservatives map negatively evaluated personality features, such as being heavy-handed, onto the prospective Labour governance. This is complemented by statements like “*Businesses they wouldn’t dream of nationalising, they regulate*”. The sentence mentions the main Labour government actions which The Conservatives consider to be detrimental for public interest.

Welfare elements are metaphorically understood as containers where people fall into when they are out of work. The prepositions ‘off’ and ‘into’ activate the CONTAINER metaphor:

(179) We are also developing new incentives, alongside Family Credit, to help people move *off* benefit *into* work.

(180) [...] helping people *off* welfare and *into* work, and curbing welfare fraud.

19 lexical items instantiate metaphors from the source domain of WAR and CONFLICT. One of the main concerns of the Conservatives in the 1997 general election were state pensions (181). Social problems are metaphorically understood as enemies (183–185). Antconc retrieved two tokens of ‘attack’, collocating with ‘crime’ and ‘poor housing’, respectively, while ‘fight’ and ‘menace’ collocates with drugs. Besides, defensive verbs such as ‘protect’ (12 hits) collocate with ‘taxpayers’ ‘our constitution’ and ‘families’. The Conservatives regarded themselves as the ‘guardians’ of the NHS.

(181) At the same time as *protecting* the state pension, our encouragement of private pensions is already transforming the living standards of pensioners. The average net income of pensioners has risen by 60% since 1979. This has been achieved by our encouragement of saving for retirement.

- (182) We have been the *guardians* of the NHS for most of its life, improving its services and securing its funding.
- (183) [...] focusing the Single Regeneration Budget to launch a combined *attack on crime*, unemployment and under-achievement, and developing the government's partnership with the private sector to help fund the massive investment that will be required.
- (184) We will continue *the fight against drugs* through a coordinated approach: being tough on pushers; reducing demand by educating young people; tackling drug abuse at local level through Drug Action Teams; saying "No" to legalising drugs; and working with international agencies and foreign governments to resist the *menace* spreading. This pernicious evil has to be fought by all of us.
- (185) Drugs are a *menace* to the very fabric of our society. They ruin the lives of addicts and their families.

Table 22 displays the main source domains and metaphors underlying domestic issues in the 1997 manifesto and their lexical instantiations.

SOURCE DOMAIN	METAPHOR	LEXICAL UNIT
MOVEMENT & DIRECTION	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	<i>step</i> (12), <i>way</i> (5), <i>stop</i> (7), <i>burden</i> (7)
WAR & CONFLICT	POLITICS IS CONFLICT SOCIAL PROBLEMS ARE ENEMIES	<i>protect</i> (12), <i>fight</i> (7), <i>face</i> (6), <i>damage</i> (4)
BUILDINGS & CONSTRUCTION	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	<i>sustain</i> (9), <i>stability</i> (8), <i>build</i> (7), <i>balance</i> (7), <i>strength</i> (6)
GAMES & SPORT	ECONOMY IS COMPETITION / POLITICS IS COMPETITION	<i>tackle</i> (14), <i>competition</i> (10), <i>competitive</i> (5), <i>win</i> (1)
HEALTH & ILLNESS	SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS ARE ORGANISMS / CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS GIVING LIFE	<i>regenerate</i> (6), <i>strong</i> (5), <i>suffer</i> (2), <i>health</i> (1)

Table 22. Metaphorical conceptualisation of domestic issues in the 1997 section of the manifesto corpus.

#### 3.4.1.2. Conceptualisation of domestic issues in the 1997 section of the cartoon corpus

Domestic political issues are normally used to attract the readers' attention and persuade them about the need for a change. This explains why they are less subject to external influences and ideologies, and prone to controversies which can well be artificially created and whose origin can be traced to either government action or to political interests, the ultimate goal being to obtain a larger number of votes. Thus the 1997 general election was influenced by the scandals in which the Major Government was involved. Some of these scandals can be traced back to the Thatcher years – after all, the Conservatives had remained in power since 1979.

As earlier mentioned, the 1997 section of the cartoon corpus is dominated by the topic known as *sleaze* by the British press. *Sleaze* refers to the immoral, sordid or corrupt behaviour displayed by some of the most prominent figures in the Conservative

Party. The term epitomized the scandals of either political or strictly personal nature that dogged the Conservatives during the Major years (1992 to 1997)<sup>61</sup>, and thus haunted them during the 1997 campaign, trailing New Labour by 20 points by the time Parliament was dissolved, in March 1997. As Bale (2011: 64) points out, all this was aggravated by the fact that *“the institutional and intellectual confusion which characterised the Conservative effort in the long- and near- term campaign in 1997 may also have been down to individuals”*. The individual confusion of Conservative spearheads was depicted by the British press, as seen below.

Of the 10 cartoons selected in this section, seven draw on the source domain of MOVEMENT and DIRECTION. Two of them depict a game scenario. In the former, drawn by Brown (figure 97), Major is surrounded by two snakes backgrounded by a game board made of black and white squares, which is a modern version of *Snakes and Ladders*, with the word START and No. 1 on the first square bottom down. There are other typical elements of board games such as ladders which may enable Major to jump on to higher squares. They metaphorically represent the political success that the government can use in order to win the election and get to the finish line. The target of the metaphor is verbally provided by the terms “JOBLESS FIGURES”, “LIVING STANDARDS” and “INTEREST RATES”. In contrast, on the snakes’ bodies that threaten Major and prevent him from moving forward, the words “SEX”, “SLEAZE” and “SPLITS” can be read. If we start from the assumption that the author uses Christian iconography to represent sins through snakes, the metaphor can be paraphrased as IMMORALITY IS A SNAKE. Sex, sleaze and splits are the Conservative Party’s sins that stop Major from going forward and are subsumed within the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema underlying a board game scenario. Thus, in line with Lakoff’s (1993) claim that there is a correlation between a structure in the domain of movement and a structure in the domain of purpose, the image activates the conceptual metaphor PURPOSEFUL ACTION IS MOTION TOWARDS A DESTINATION. After being chosen as candidate, Major needs to move across the board to reach the last square, that is, to win

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<sup>61</sup> Actually, there were scandals till the early years under Hague. For an overview see <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/special/politics97/background/pastelec/ge97.shtml>.



the 1997 general election. However, the snakes prevent him from moving across the board, thus suggesting that he will lose the election.

## olor and sleaze



Figure 97. Brown's cartoon about 'sleaze'. *The Sunday Times*, 30 March 1997.

The same SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema in which an actor moves towards a final destination, thus generating the metaphor POLITICAL ACTION IS MOTION TOWARDS A DESTINATION, underlies the following cartoon, drawn by Brookes (figure 98). We see Major, Heseltine and Clarke trying to get out of a maze, whose inner walls make up the word "SLEAZE". The image of the maze reflects the metaphor POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARE A MAZE, which in turn is subsumed into the PATH-schema based metaphor. All three politicians are gesticulating to express confusion. The GESTURE FOR FEELING metonymy indicates the author's stance. The cartoonist's view is supported by the fact that there is neither entry nor exit from the maze, thus indicating the dire prospects of the Conservative Party in the 1997 election.



Figure 98. Brookes' cartoon about 'sleaze'. *The Times*, 27 March 1997.

In the cartoons drawn in figures 99 and 100, Garland relies on expedition scenarios to represent the problems of the Conservative Party at the time. In figure 99 Major is surrounded by polar bears in the Arctic, each of them with a word indicating the party's problems written on their body. "SLEAZE" is the most obvious word, as it can be read easily and the bear is closer to Major. The image suggests the metaphor POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARE BEASTS.

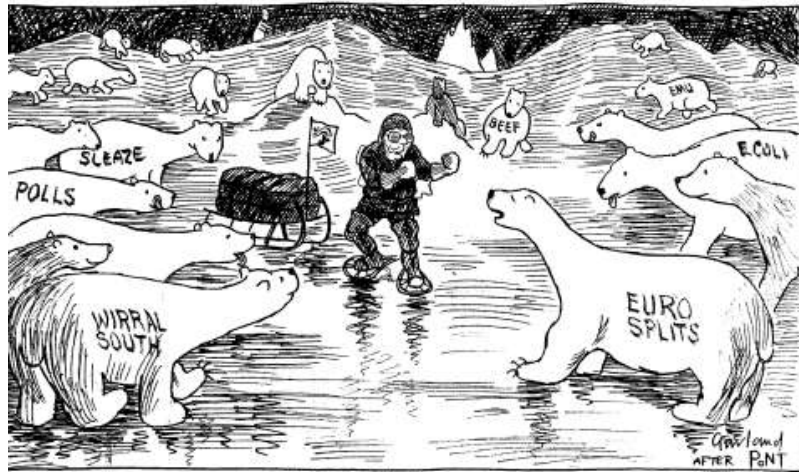


Figure 99. Garland's cartoon about the sleaze scandal. *The Daily Telegraph*, 12 March 1997.

The cartoon drawn in figure 100 presents a dangerous scenario which maps the qualities of danger and exploration onto whale hunting. It echoes the 1851 novel *Moby Dick* by Melville, more exactly the passage where the beast attacks and sinks the vessel. The whale is wearing a pair of glasses resembling those of Major (POLITICIANS ARE ANIMALS). The scene seems to happen right after the whale has caused the vessel to wreck (THE UK IS A SHIP). Among the wreckage debris some envelopes and notes can be identified, metonymically hinting at corruption cases, i.e. the sleaze scandal. However, there is a buoy containing the word "SLEAZE", suggesting that it has been harpooned to the whale and will consequently keep it afloat, preventing him from going away. This pictorial detail yields the metaphor LACK OF POLITICAL CONTROL IS LACK OF PHYSICAL MOVEMENT.

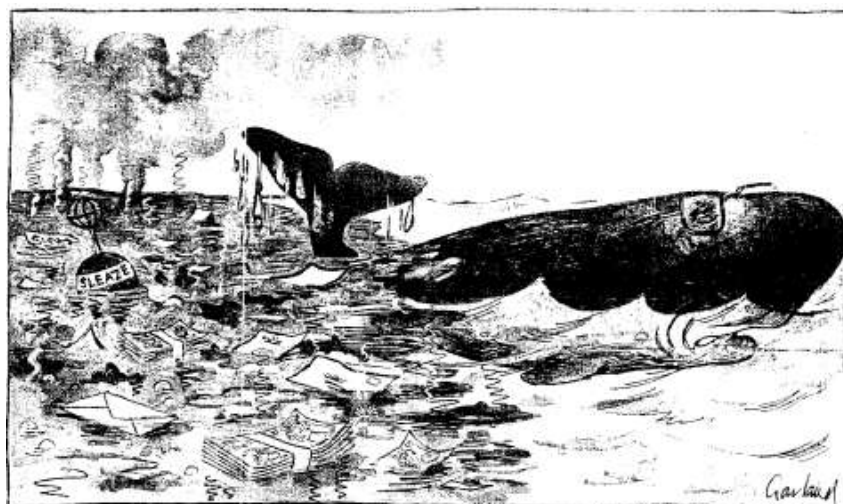


Figure 100. Garland's second cartoon about the sleaze scandal. *The Daily Telegraph*, 25 March 1997.

In two other cartoons, the Conservative Party is conceptualised as a means of transport, a bus, which is either dirty or has no destination. The cartoon shown in figure 101 illustrates a prototypical metaphorical configuration of political corruption. Members of the Conservative Party drive a bus covering the line "BATTLEBUS". This renders the metaphor THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY IS A BUS, which is heading towards a car wash called "SLEAZEWASH". On the bus side we read the sentence "CLEAN ME", which states the party's intention and cues the metaphor PURE IS CLEAN. This metaphor combines with CORRUPTION IS DIRT, the source being metonymically represented by the mud covering the bus when it gets out of the tunnel. In the cartoon shown in figure 102, again the Conservative propaganda machine is conceptualised as an electoral bus. However, this time the bus has no wheels, which cues the metaphor POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION.



Figure 101. Brookes' cartoon about the Conservative attempts to evade corruption. *The Times*, 2 April 1997.



Figure 102. Cummings' cartoon about the electoral prospects of the Conservative Party. *The Times*, 12 April 1997.

The British press paid no attention to the domestic reforms carried out by the Conservative Party and focused on the ‘sleaze’ scandal and the electoral prospects of the party. The conceptual metaphor POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION is pervasive in this section. While *The Times* conceptualised the ‘sleaze’ scandal in terms of boardgames and focused on Major’s inability to move, *The Daily Telegraph* relied on encounters with animals in dangerous situations to portray a situation which was dire<sup>62</sup>.

### 3.4.2. The 2001-2005 section

The 2001-2005 section of the corpus is characterised by the reiteration of classical Conservative issues. Quoting Tempest for *the Guardian* on the day the 2005 manifesto was released (11 April 2005)<sup>63</sup>: Howard unveiled a “slimmed down” 29-page Conservative manifesto which he said was “in tune with the longings of the British people”. The brochure features the five Tory pledges: “More police, cleaner hospitals, lower taxes, school discipline and controlled immigration”.

During the 2001 and 2005 campaigns, the main domestic issue for the Conservative Party (then in the opposition) was that of asylum seekers and refugees coming to Britain, in the hope of activating their demobilised, core vote.

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<sup>62</sup> <http://edition.cnn.com/WORLD/9704/28/brit.tory/>

<sup>63</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2005/apr/11/election2005.uk>

#### 3.4.2.1. *Conceptualisation of domestic issues in the 2001-2005 section of the manifesto corpus*

The Labour Party had stayed in office since 1997, which resulted in little media coverage of Conservative issues and no power in decision-making in macro-economic aspects and the foreign affairs policy, including the relationship with the European Union. The focus, especially after the electoral disaster in 1997 – which as pointed out by Cowley and Stuart (2003) meant their lowest representation in Parliament since 1906, was on developing a credible response to the proposals of New Labour which would eventually allow them to overcome the two-fold crisis they went through after Thatcherism, both in leadership and ideology.

Therefore, in the 2001 run they advocated for tried-and-trusted policies of the Conservative Party (Dorey, 2003: 125). A clear example is the occurrence of the business expression ‘value for money’ (5 tokens), which triggers the metaphor PUBLIC SERVICES ARE PRODUCTS. Taxation is often regarded as an ethical need in ideologies which emphasise common well-being. However, thanks to the activation of PUBLIC SERVICES ARE PRODUCTS, the Conservatives erase the ethical component of taxation. Instead, they map the exchange process inherent to buying and selling. Thus, money is paid in return for services:

(186) The best councils *offer excellent value for money* and serve their communities well.

In all, 132 lexical items are metaphorically used to shape domestic issues in the 2001-2005 section of the manifesto corpus. The prevailing source domain is WAR AND CONFLICT, which is activated by 22 lexical units. This domain is used, in line with Thatcherite rhetoric, to conceptualise neo-liberal policies of free market, minimising state intervention. Thus, in line with Thatcherite principles of neo-liberalism, the Conservative Party metaphorically regards taxation as aggression. Unannounced or

disguised taxes are characterised as ‘stealth’, mapping features such as expectancy, surprise and inconvenience to the financial activity of collecting taxes, since the Labour government had been rising taxes since 1997. The expressions “tax raid” and “stealth taxes” provided 5 hits each in this section of the corpus. Similarly, Labour government actions are conceptualised as aggressions suffered by the people (4 instances):

(187) Second, we will avoid further Labour *stealth* taxes by reducing government borrowing.

(188) Hard-working families have *suffered from* Labour’ s tax *raids* on mortgages and marriage, pensions and petrol, buying a home and having a job. Labour’ s tax raids on mortgages.

The portrayal of Labour as an aggressor and people as victims from those aggressions enable the Conservative Party to present itself as a defender of social liberties, in an attempt to show high moral grounds, as shown in examples (189–193):

(189) We value the diverse nature of our nation and *believe in defending* traditional liberties.

(190) We will introduce health checks for immigrants in order to curb the spread of diseases such as TB and to *protect* access to our NHS.

(191) This is an *indefensible* and unprecedented discrimination against disabled people.

(192) We will *liberate* media companies from outdated ownership rules and ensure that regulation is minimised, while *protecting* the vulnerable from offensive material.

(193) Conservatives understand that our circumstances change through our lives - most of us face financial pressures when we have young children, for example, or find ourselves living on a fixed income in



old age. So we will carefully target tax cuts to help people at times in their lives when they need it most, when they are *struggling* hard with difficult responsibilities.

WAR AND CONFLICT metaphors are also used to depict social problems, for which Labour is to blame. Social problems are metaphorically understood as enemies, and the Conservative Party shows itself as actively fighting them.

(194) Anti-social behaviour can be *confronted*.

(195) An effective *attack* on fraud.

In the 2001-2005 section of the corpus, the Conservatives resort to one of the most relevant Thatcherite mottos, i.e. ‘small government’, through a number of interplaying metaphors. Labour governance performance is seen as a destructive nature force which is eroding British institutions (COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS) and destroying people’s freedoms, which are understood as a social construction:

(196) This meddling and interfering Government is *eroding our freedoms* as well as *weakening the institutions* that give us a sense of common purpose.

The conceptual metaphor COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS allows for mapping positively evaluated attributes of buildings, such as ‘foundations’ (1 instance), and ‘balance’ (4 instances), onto British institutions and the Constitution, as in the 1997 section:

(197) The House of Lords, historically a *source of balance* and independence, has suffered a botched reform.

(198) We want to govern ourselves, confident in a *stable* and trusted constitution.

(199) We will secure *the foundations of a successful and decent society*.

BUILDING metaphors often interplay with the metaphor COMPLEX SOCIAL SYSTEMS ARE ORGANISMS in the metaphorical representation of society:

(200) The next Conservative Government will *help build a stronger society*.

Therefore, Labour policies are shaped as threats to the system and ‘undermine’ institutions (5 hits in the 2001-2005 section):

(201) The House of Commons has been steadily *undermined*, and proper reform of the House of Lords has been repeatedly promised but never delivered.

(202) Labour’s centralised control of the police has sapped officers’ morale, increased bureaucracy and *undermined public confidence*.

The theme of individual freedom is recurrent in the 2001 and 2005 manifestos. It is conceptualised in terms of MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION. This source domain is the third most pervasive in the conceptualisation of domestic issues. In example (203) Blair’s government actions, characterised by bureaucracy and centralisation, are metaphorically seen as impeding movements, and so are benefits. However, political actions by a future Conservative government are conceptualised in terms of unimpeded movement, as in (204):

(203) Disabled people who have lost their jobs can become *trapped* on Incapacity Benefit.

- (204) They will have statutory powers to *accelerate* the planning and development of rundown areas.

During the 2001 and 2005 campaigns, the Conservatives dealt with immigration issues, as a result of the controversial policies adopted by Blair's governments concerning the single market and the enlargement of the European Union, which allowed migration from the newly incorporated Member States into the UK, while other European states had placed a moratorium on the issue. In fact, as pointed out by Somerville in 2007, monthly polls revealed the importance given by the British public to the issue, which was also one of the priorities of legislative activity<sup>64</sup>.

In the 2001 and 2005 manifestos the Conservatives placed the emphasis on the much-needed control of immigration and the mismanagement of asylum, which can be summed up by the statement "A safe haven, not a soft touch, on asylum". This sentence appears in the 2001 manifesto. A maritime metaphor, i.e. 'safe haven', is used to map the ability to welcome those who are "genuinely oppressed", as opposed to the BUILDING metaphor "collapse of our asylum system" (205). This contrasts with the metonymy-based metaphor STATE AS PERSON underlying the expression "a soft touch". According to the Macmillan dictionary, a soft touch is "someone who can be persuaded very easily to do something, for example to give you money". Thus, the expression highlights unreliability and lack of strength in the British position on migration.

- (205) But now our ability to be a safe *haven* for the genuinely oppressed is severely hampered by the virtual collapse of our asylum system. This chaos encourages unfounded asylum claims.

- (206) Britain has gained a reputation as *a soft touch for bogus asylum seekers*.

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<sup>64</sup>The article is available at: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/immigration-legacy-tony-blair>.

However, the attempt to discredit Labour management of immigration goes further, as can be seen in (207) and (208). Indeed, Labour's inability to handle the issue does not only discredit the nation, but also applies forces with destructive results to traditional institutions of the UK (LABOUR POLICY IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE).

(207) In four years, Labour has seen the cost of the asylum system double and put a *great strain* on many communities.

(208) Ask anyone who works in the health service and they will tell you that the NHS is *now creaking under the strain of bureaucracy*.

The source domain of RELIGION AND ETHICS also plays an important role in the conceptualisation of domestic issues. The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS RELIGION is instantiated by lexical items such as 'values' (7 hits), and 'reward' (6 hits):

(209) We will revive the railway industry so it achieves airline standards of service and safety. We will stop Labour's policy of *blame and shame*.

(210) Our programme is rooted in the instincts of millions of people whose *beliefs* are *mocked* by Labour. It is rooted, in other words, in common sense.

(211) But if people do choose to insure themselves privately they should not be *penalised* for making this choice.

(212) Our constitution is being *perverted*, and *faith* in politics and politicians is at an all time low.

In example (209) we see that the expression 'blame and shame' depicting Labour policy helps to create the image of an unfair ruler, someone who endeavours in finding someone to blame without taking any other responsibility. In (210) and (211) the ruler treats those governed unfairly but also showing lack of respect for their values. In the previous four examples, we can see how the rhetorical strategy behind the use of

RELIGION AND ETHICS metaphors is to align with the values attributed to people in portraying an unfair and disrespectful leadership style. Therefore, the Conservatives try here to show their *ethos* and gain credit based on their sharing of moral values with the average British citizen.

On the whole, the Conservative Party followed the political stances of previous years and focused their domestic proposals on issues where they felt they would attract voters. They relied on neo-liberal policies already set by Thatcher and followed by Major. In much the same way, they used conceptualisation patterns from previous stages of the party's history. The corpus data are consistent with research in political science. As Broughton (2003: 208) commented after the 2001 general election:

For some commentators, the Conservative election campaign of 2001 was partially successful so far as it went, from an admittedly low level of expectations, but it was one ultimately fought on the wrong issues and the wrong overall agenda. Concentrating upon issues such as the euro and 'saving the pound', asylum seekers, tax cuts and crime, and not upon public services such as schools and hospitals, represented a sustained misperception by the party of the attitudes and priorities of the electorate.

Table 23 below shows the most important source domains, the conceptual metaphors and their lexical instantiations that are manifested in the 2001-2005 section of the manifesto corpus.

SOURCE DOMAIN	METAPHOR	LEXICAL UNIT
MOVEMENT & DIRECTION	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	<i>burden (7), stop (6), reverse (5), step (5), follow (4)</i>
WAR & CONFLICT	POLITICS IS CONFLICT/ LIFE IS A STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL	<i>protect (8), damage (5), hit (5), stealth (5), threat (4)</i>
RELIGION & ETHICS	POLITICS IS RELIGION / IDEAS ARE RELIGIOUS PRECEPTS	<i>values (7), reward (6), believe in (3)</i>
BUILDINGS & CONSTRUCTION	THE STATE IS A BUILDING / COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	<i>strength (11), build (8), undermine (5), balance (4)</i>
HUMAN BODY	IMPORTANCE IS CENTRALITY / THE STATE IS A PERSON	<i>inflexible (3), at the heart of (2), flexibility (2)</i>

Table 23. Metaphorical conceptualisation of domestic issues in the 2001-2005 section of the manifesto corpus.

#### 3.4.2.2. Conceptualisation of domestic issues in the 2001-2005 section of the cartoon corpus

The 2001-2005 subcorpus is characterised by the attempts made by the Conservative Party to regain political lead once in the opposition. Tony Blair's New Labour had obtained a landslide victory in 1997 which shook the bases of the Conservative Party. Most candidates and party leaders resorted to already tested policies which had made the party govern in the 1980's. However, due to New Labour's movement towards the political centre and the perceived decay of Thatcherite ideas, a few party members felt it was convenient to take advantage of political controversies about refugees and asylum seekers to shake right-wing Conservatives in the hope of mobilising the party's core and bases. Therefore, attention was drawn to social issues such as migration on the one hand, and its relationship with crime, on the other hand.

Of the seven cartoons depicting domestic issues, four are concerned with the 2001 general election and the remaining with the 2005 general election. In three

cartoons MOVEMENT and DIRECTION metaphors are profiled. The first two cartoons are concerned with the 2001 general election. The former, drawn by Garland and published by *The Telegraph* (figure 103), depicts a game scenario in which Ann Widdecombe and Jack Straw, the Shadow Home Secretary and the Home Secretary at the time are using a see-saw. The target of the metaphor is verbally cued by the phrases “OVERALL DOWN”, “ROBBERY and VIOLENCE UP” written on a report on crime figures. The metaphor MORE IS UP indicates that the Conservatives have chosen crime as one of the main campaign issues.

This metaphor interplays with POLITICAL INABILITY IS LACK OF CONTROL OVER PHYSICAL MOVEMENT and IMPORTANCE IS WEIGHT. In the see-saw Jack Straw, a Labour politician, claims that crime figures are improving, with his feet on the ground, leaving Widdecombe above the ground, unable to move. This hints at the futility of the Conservatives’ attempt to put the focus on crime figures.

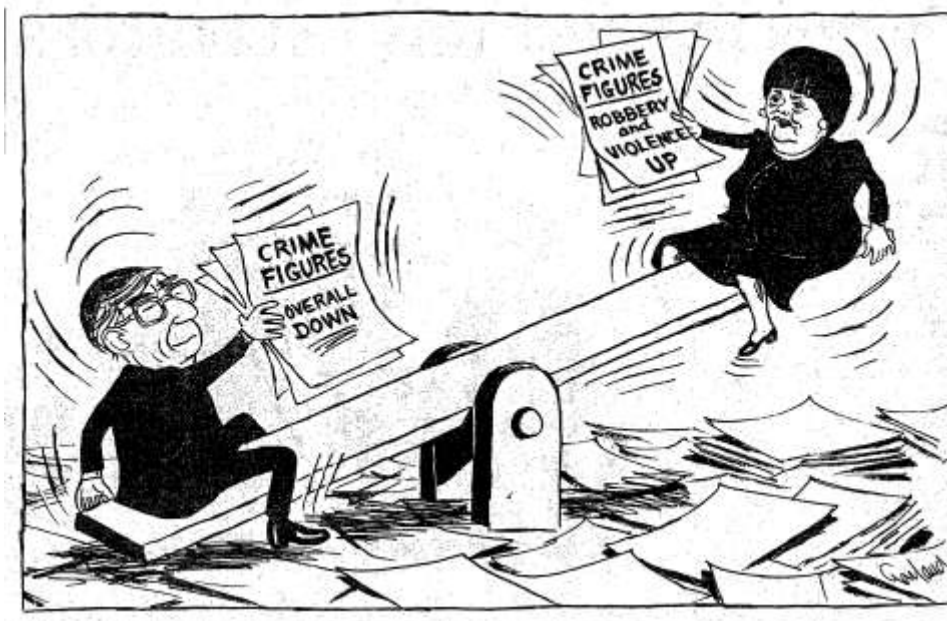


Figure 103. Garland’s cartoon about the Conservative focus on crime figures in the 2001 general election. *The Daily Telegraph*, 17 January 2001.

The following cartoon (figure 104) is Brookes’ recollection of the news that dominated British press in the first week of September 2001, soon after losing the 2001 general election, when asylum seekers, whose ultimate goal was to arrive in Britain, were

camping in Calais (France). As Calais is close to the Eurotunnel, they tried to walk through it during the darkest hours of the night. Again, the Conservatives criticised the Labour Government and Widdecombe suggested that the government was somehow encouraging the refugees to get into the country<sup>65</sup>. The scene is set in the main entrance of the Eurotunnel. We see both openings and the letters “G” “H” “ME”. The openings of the tunnel stand for the missing “O”. The message is thus “GO HOME”. The tunnel metonymically represents the UK (TRANSPORT FOR DESTINATION). At the bottom we can see two people, probably refugees, standing metonymically for the immigrants. Next to the “E”, an unidentified person seems to be surprised by their arrival (EMOTION FOR CAUSE). To fully interpret the cartoon, we must focus on the “GO HOME” message. The openings of the tunnel are completely dark, thus rendering the metaphor DARK IS DEATH. This also explains the reaction of the person sending the message and suggests Brookes’ critical stance on the issue.



Figure 104. Brookes’ cartoon about the Conservatives’ view on immigration. *The Times*, 6 September 2001.

The issue of immigration and asylum seekers became one of the main battlefields in the 2005 campaign. Four cartoons are devoted to this issue in this section of the corpus. The

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<sup>65</sup> The precise nature of her statements can be consulted at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/1521118.stm>.



cartoon shown in figure 105 provides Morland's interpretation of the same news topic. A shark swimming upwards is carrying Howard, who is holding onto the shark's dorsal fin and is metonymically representing the party (LEADER FOR INSTITUTION). He seems to be drowning, as hinted by the bubbles he exhales. In the background, someone in a suit is falling to the bottom of the sea. On the top left part of the cartoon the caption "TO THE RESCUE" contrasts with the politician drowning. On the shark's body the words "IMMIGRATION AND ASYLUM" yield the target and the metaphor IMMIGRATION AND ASYLUM ARE SHARKS. Again, a situation is negatively evaluated though the source domain of ANIMALS. Given the controversial nature of these topics during the campaign, the metaphor might be rephrased as POLITICAL STRATEGIES ARE BEASTS. Through the use of sharks as the metaphoric source, the author maps the feature of danger, thus suggesting a sharp contrast with the rescuing purpose they are intended for. This means that the party must be in such a desperate position to avoid drowning that it holds onto a dangerous shark, which yields the metaphor POLITICAL FAILURE IS DEATH.



Figure 105. Morland's cartoon about the effects of focusing the campaign on immigration. *The Times*, 30 March 2005.

The next cartoon is the only one drawing from the source domain of GAMES AND SPORT. The target is again the use of immigration and asylum as a strategy to win voters in the 2005 general election. The cartoon drawn by Garland (figure 106) shows Michael Howard, the Conservative leader, metonymically standing for the Conservative Party, as an archer shooting arrows at a target. There is a large target with concentric circles, each of which represents different levels of punctuation. Thus, “PUBLIC SERVICES” can be read on the outer circle, “ECONOMY” on the second one, “EUROPE” on the third one, and so on until we read “IRAQ” in the bullseye, which is the inner circle of the target. However, instead of aiming at the inner circle, Howard is shooting against a smaller but much closer target, which has no outer circles and only features the word “IMMIGRATION” as an over-dimensioned bullseye. The targets should be interpreted as the issues on which the campaign should be based. This sports scenario yields the following mappings:

- POLITICS IS A COMPETITION.
- POLITICIANS ARE SPORTSMEN.
- POLITICAL ISSUES ARE TARGETS.

Through these entailments the cartoonist combines two conceptual metaphors, i.e. POLITICAL SUCCESS IS HITTING THE TARGET and IMPORTANCE IS CENTRALITY, since he suggests that the Conservative Party will not benefit from targeting immigration, because it is too close, easily targeted but rendering little or no political benefit at all. Instead, they should be aiming at the real targets, which would enable them to win the archery competition (the 2005 general election).

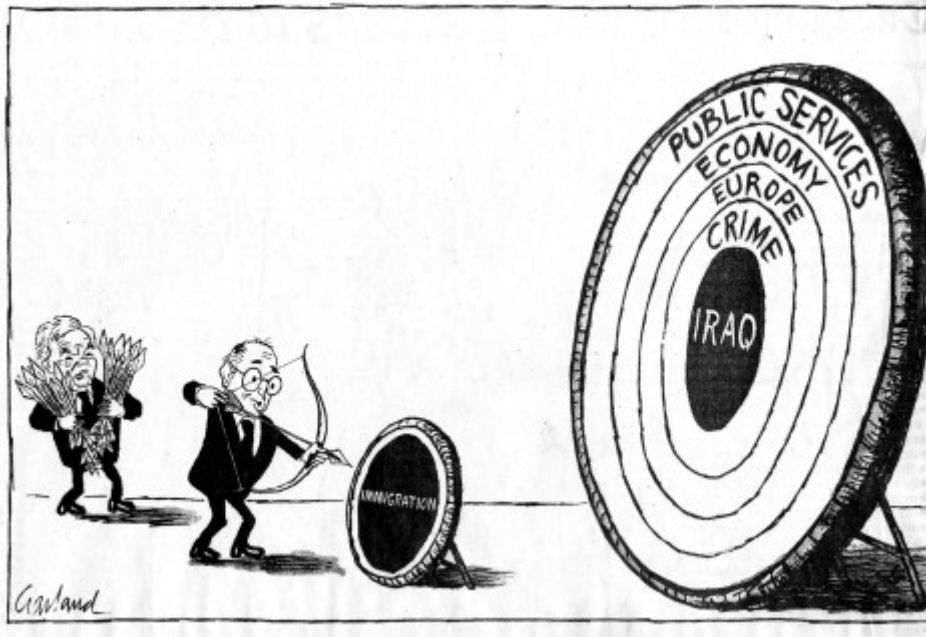


Figure 106. Garland's cartoon about the 2005 Conservative campaign. *The Daily Telegraph*, 25 January 2005.

All in all, the cartoons in this subsection highlight the uselessness of the Conservative Party's approach to domestic policies through MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION metaphors.

### 3.4.3. The 2010 section

Following the trail of most European countries' domestic debates, the international crisis and the dramatic economic measures to cut public expenditure that all the governments in Europe were forced to adopt led the British public and the press to reflect on the need to preserve the welfare state. As a result, the topic of the welfare state was recurrent in British politics, and consequently in political cartooning, during the 2010 and 2015 general elections.

As already mentioned, the global crisis whose effects had been felt across Europe since 2008 shaped the main issues of the 2010 general election campaign. On the domestic level, this was reflected in pledges to improve the management of public services, such as education or the NHS. Unlike the 1997 and 2001-2005 campaigns, the 2010 campaign focused on public services. Actually, as noted in section 3.1.3., its most significant proposal was the creation of the ‘Big Society’.

#### *3.4.3.1. Conceptualisation of domestic issues in the 2010 section of the manifesto corpus*

In the 2010 section of our corpus, 236 lexical units have been metaphorically used in the conceptualisation of domestic issues.

As advanced above, the creation of ‘the Big Society’ was of utmost importance for Progressive Conservatism under Cameron. The notion of ‘Big Society’ appears 30 times in the 2010 section of the manifesto corpus. Its most important proposals fall within a section entitled *Build the Big Society*.

The Conservative Party makes the following claims:

- (213) A Conservative government will help *to mend our broken society* – by cracking down on drink and drug-fuelled violence, tackling re-offending, and intervening early to stop young people getting onto the conveyor belt to crime – in order to reduce the causes of crime and anti-social behaviour.
- (214) They can see that the once-strong bonds of obligation and responsibility that used to bind society are now *crumbling away* because of the overwhelming influence of big government.

Example (213) is an interesting example. In September 1987, Thatcher gave an interview for *Woman's Own*, in which she claimed “there is no such a thing as society”<sup>66</sup>. In the 2010 section it is also claimed that “We believe there is such a thing as society, it’s just not the same thing as the state”, which can be interpreted as an attempt to depart from Thatcherite positions<sup>67</sup>. This is also quantitatively reflected in our corpus: out of the 182 hits of ‘society’, only 24 are found in previous manifestos.

More interestingly, the ‘Big Society’ is systematically conceptualised as a building. There are 18 collocations of “build the Big Society” in the 2010 section of the corpus:

(215) If you care about civil liberties, if you care about people power, if you want a clean break from the past, if you want *to build the Big Society* – then vote Conservative.

(216) Or they can vote for real progressive change with Conservatives – who have the leadership, energy and values to *build the stronger society* and safer communities that older people want to see:

Examples (217–219) show that the ‘Big Society’ is based on the empowering of local groups, so other components of the society, such as families and neighbourhood associations, are conceptualised as part of a building: FAMILY IS A BEDROCK and NEIGHBOURHOODS ARE BUILDING ROCKS:

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<sup>66</sup> <http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/106689>.

<sup>67</sup> The foundations of this claim and its context can be consulted on Prof. Steele’s site, hosted by the University of Lancaster: <http://www.lancs.ac.uk/staff/ecagr/MT.htm>.

(217) These policies will give new powers and rights to neighbourhood groups: the ‘little platoons’ of civil society – and the institutional *building blocks* of the Big Society.

(218) We need strong families – *the bedrock* of the Big Society.

(219) They provide the stability and love we need to flourish as human beings, and the relationships they foster are the *foundation* on which society is built.

The high occurrence of BUILDING metaphors highlights the importance of the “socially purposeful outlook” (Fairclough, 2000: 123), which is, in this case, the construction of a new social model for the UK. This rhetorical move should be interpreted as an attempt to mobilise Conservative voters, following One-Nation Conservatism<sup>68</sup>.

Finally, the ‘Big Society’ attributes the elderly the role of an ‘army’. It is worth noting that the domain of WAR AND CONFLICT is activated by 32 lexical units.

(220) There is no reason why older people cannot be *the army* of the Big Society and help bring new life to our communities.

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<sup>68</sup> One-Nation Conservatism played a role in overcoming the social division created by the ‘Winter of Discontent’ (Blond, 2010) in the earlier stages of Thatcherism. The main political tenets of this group can be consulted at <https://www.trg.org.uk/about-us/>. Blond, the former director of the Progressive Conservatism project at the think tank *Demos*, supporting the Conservative Party, is also close to the movement. He quit his job to found the independent think tank *ResPublica*.

- (221) We are inviting older people to take a lead role in our *efforts to build* a better Britain.

The Conservative proposal for political renewal is made through terms from the source domains of BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION (21 lexical units). The metaphor COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS is used to claim deep political changes. ‘Political system’ occurs eleven times in the 2010 section of the corpus. Five occurrences reflect the metaphor THE BRITISH POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A BUILDING.

- (222) We intend *to build a new political system* that serves people rather than politicians. Together, we can change our politics for the better.

- (223) The events of recent months have revealed the size of the *fissures* in our political system.

If the Conservatives wanted to build a new system, it was necessary for them to present the reader with the problems and solutions suggested by the party. As pointed out by Fairclough (2000), one of the main characteristics of the New Labour discourse was the adoption of liberal economic policies. The Conservative Party then had the chance to strike back by including this value-oriented discourse in its economic discourse, which, in the context of financial crisis, was an attempt to fill the political centre ground. Besides it could also be interpreted as the party’s response to the worldwide known Parliament expenses scandal, unveiled by the right-wing newspaper *The Daily Telegraph*<sup>69</sup>, which reported some MPs’ widespread habit of charging their private expenses to their allowances.

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<sup>69</sup> Further information on this affair can be found at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newstopics/mps-expenses>.

The solution suggested by the party under Cameron relies on instruments such as accountability (43 hits), transparency (24 hits), and decentralisation (9 hits), already mentioned in previous manifestos, as they were the political answer to the devolution process started by Labour in 1997. This is clarified in (224) below:

- (224) Using decentralisation, accountability and transparency, we will *weaken* the old political elites, give people power, *fix our broken politics* and restore people's *faith* that if we act together things can change.

In (224) we encounter different metaphors serving different purposes. First, the metaphor COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE MACHINES provides the basis to understand decentralisation, accountability and transparency as the tools to “fix our broken politics”. It is supported by the conceptual metaphors POLITICS IS RELIGION, through which people’s confidence is equated to religious faith, and INSTITUTIONS ARE ORGANISMS, through which old political elites will reduce their power since they are weakened.

The domains of HEALTH AND ILLNESS (12 lexical units), PLANTS (8 lexical units), ANIMALS (4 lexical units) and HUMAN BODY (8 lexical units) are used to describe British political problems. Under the overarching conceptual metaphor SOCIETY IS AN ORGANISM, multiple metaphors are deployed to depict the problems and solutions. Political problems are depicted as diseases or health issues, and accordingly, CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS A MEDICINE. Conservative social proposals are put forward as remedies, either in the form of revitalisation (4 instantiations), reinvigoration (1 instantiation) or antidote (1 instantiation). Besides, social problems are viewed as diseases or even plagues – see (226) and (227).

- (225) How will we *revitalise* communities unless people stop asking 'who will fix this?' and start asking 'what can I do?'

- (226) [...] *reinvigorating* occupational pensions and working with employers and industry to support auto-enrolment into pensions;



- (227) the Big society is the *antidote* to the rising cost and failing bureaucracy of big government, and it is the only way we can bring about the real, progressive change our country needs.

The description of the British political system draws upon the source domain of PLANTS:

- (228) Under Labour, the quango state has *flourished*. Government figures show that there are over 700 unelected bodies spending £6 billion every year [...].
- (229) And, because *sunlight is the best disinfectant*, we will bring the operation of government out into the open so that everyone can see whether we are delivering good value for money.
- (230) Our public service reform programme will enable social enterprises, charities and voluntary groups to play a leading role in delivering public services and tackling deep-rooted social problems.

The domain of HUMAN BODY contributes to the Conservative Party's new *ethos*. In (231), the metaphor 'at the heart of', which was seen in the BNI section, is here used to conceptualise the Conservative domestic policy:

- (231) That is why we have put green issues back *at the heart* of our politics and that is why they will be *at the heart* of our government.

The source domain of MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION is instantiated by lexical items like 'step' (19 tokens), and 'burden' (17 tokens). In the 2010 section of the corpus, metaphors from the domains of GAMES AND SPORT and WAR AND CONFLICT are less common than in the previous sections and fulfil a different function. In a

Progressive Conservatism view, the metaphors appeal to the situation of families, as shown below in examples (232) – (234):

(232) This will change with a Conservative government. We will help families with all the pressures they *face*: the lack of time, money worries, the impact of work, concerns about schools and crime, preventing unhealthy influences, poor housing.

(233) We will ensure that the primary curriculum is organised around subjects like Maths, Science and History. We will encourage setting so those who are *struggling* get extra help and the most able are stretched.

(234) A Conservative government will review the way the childcare industry is regulated and funded to ensure that no providers, including childminders, are put at a *disadvantage*.

In the 2010 manifesto, WAR AND CONFLICT and COMPETITION metaphors are used not only for ideological purposes (that is, in Charteris- Black's terms, to represent political actors in a world view), but also for aesthetical purposes, creating intertextual coherence with previous manifestos. But perhaps more importantly, they are used for empathetic purposes, since, in the context of the economic crisis, the use of WAR AND CONFLICT metaphors is meant to arouse positive feelings from potential voters, who will feel that *this Conservative Party* understands what people have gone through.

Labour is signalled in the 2010 manifesto as having attacked British values and institutions. Their policies after thirteen years are conceptualised as attacks against positively evaluated British social institutions, such as the family or the political system. The result of Labour policies is also conceptualised in terms of natural disasters:

(235) Labour have subjected Britain's historic freedoms to unprecedented *attack*.

- (236) This *tidal wave* of worklessness is making it hard for many families to make ends meet in recent years, the number of people living in severe poverty has risen.

This will consequently prompt Conservative's political response, which is also understood in terms of conflicts. In (237–239) the party establishes the need for action by not being able to remain neutral in the present situation. They also claim to have a 'mission' (13 tokens) connected with the creation of a new society and the fight against the social problems caused by Labour:

- (237) We will not be *neutral* on this.

- (238) A more liberal, tolerant and open society. Our progressive *mission* to build a more dynamic, enterprising and participatory society will fail unless everybody has the chance to play their part. This is why tackling discrimination and promoting diversity have become so important to the Conservative Party today.

- (239) *Fight back* against crime. We will *fight back* against the crime and anti-social behaviour that blights our communities.

More specifically, the Conservatives seem to make a case for the NHS in the 2010 subcorpus: out of the 146 occurrences of 'NHS' in the whole corpus, 63 hits correspond to 2010. 'NHS' collocates with the verbs 'protect', 'fight' and 'back', thus activating the metaphor THE STATE IS A PERSON.

- (240) Since then, we have consistently *fought to protect the values* the NHS stands for and have campaigned to defend the NHS from Labour's cuts and reorganisations.

(241) We will *back* the NHS. We will increase health spending every year. We will give patients more choice and free health professionals from the tangle of politically-motivated targets that get in the way of providing the best care.

Notice that the Conservative Party under Cameron tries to achieve legitimisation by conveying determination in its opposition against social problems caused by Labour. This is done through the metaphorical expression ‘fought’ in (240) but is also balanced by the metaphorical term ‘back’ in (241), used with euphemistic purposes, which should also be understood as a means of seeking the electorate’s sympathy by hiding technical aspects of public services.

The Conservative Party relies on similar source domains to describe domestic issues as in previous manifestos, although they are used differently. The metaphorical conceptualisation of ‘the Big Society’ is based on the domain of BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION in order to emphasise the importance of collective effort. WAR AND CONFLICT metaphors are used to discuss family problems and the NHS. Another relevant source domain is PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS. The combination of the source domains influenced the voters’ perception of a more progressive Conservative Party which cares about social issues in a difficult socio-economic context.

Table 24 displays the main source domains, and the conceptual and linguistic metaphors underlying domestic issues in the 2010 section of the manifesto corpus.

SOURCE DOMAIN	METAPHOR	LEXICAL UNIT
MOVEMENT & DIRECTION	POLITICAL / ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	<i>stop</i> (35), <i>step</i> (19), <i>burden</i> (14), <i>follow</i> (6)
WAR & CONFLICT	SOCIAL PROBLEMS ARE ENEMIES/ POLITICS IS CONFLICT	<i>face</i> (31), <i>fight</i> (20), <i>protect</i> (19), <i>threat</i> (12),
BUILDINGS & CONSTRUCTION	DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOVEMENT/ COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	<i>build</i> (50), <i>strength</i> (20), <i>strong</i> (18), <i>barrier</i> (14)
MACHINES & TOOLS	POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE	<i>cut</i> (60), <i>work</i> (11), <i>breakdown</i> (8), <i>boost</i> (6)
HEALTH & ILLNESS	CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS A MEDICINE	<i>weak</i> (9), <i>revitalise</i> (4), <i>suffer</i> (3), <i>growth</i> (1)

Table 24. Metaphorical conceptualisation of domestic issues in the 2010 section of the manifesto corpus.

#### 3.4.3.2. Conceptualisation of domestic issues in the 2010 section of the cartoon corpus

The 2010 section of the cartoon corpus consists of 22 cartoons dealing with domestic issues. They draw on a range of source domains and scenarios: WAR AND CONFLICT (5 cartoons), HUMAN BODY (3 cartoons), and others such as GAMES AND SPORT (2), BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION (2), MACHINES AND TOOLS (2), and COOKING AND FOOD (2).

As noted above, the global crisis that hit the US and Europe and the measures taken by governments turned public attention to the need to preserve the welfare state.

In the UK, as a result of the role of English as a lingua franca, worldwide recognised universities may be regarded not only as ambassadors of Britishness, but also as an economic sector. Thus, the coalition Government considered increasing universities tuition fees in order to improve the country's finances. The British complained, arguing that the increase would not only affect foreign students.

The cartoons shown in figures 107 and 108 feature this issue. In all, the 2010 section of the cartoon corpus contains four cartoons related to the reform of tuition fees. The cartoon shown in figure 107 was published in *The Times* on the day when A levels results<sup>70</sup> were to be released. It is subdivided into three parts. First there is a University banner on a gate on the top right corners of the image, metonymically standing for an educational institution. It is so high that a huge 'A' in red serves as a staircase being climbed by people portrayed as university students. The second section of the cartoon shows more people, so that the 'A' starts to collapse. The collapse points to the debate on the increase of tuition fees, which would allegedly prevent many people from getting into university. In the last section the 'A' has totally collapsed, preventing many people from entering university. The image profiles the metaphor ACCESS TO AN INSTITUTION IS ENTERING A PLACE, which is based on the metonymy BUILDING FOR INSTITUTION. At the same time, the 'A', which is a manifestation of a PART FOR WHOLE metonymy (A for A levels), cues the metaphor A-LEVELS ARE A STAIRCASE, since the purpose of education is to provide people with a better future. The visual representation of A-levels as staircases reflects the conceptual metaphor EDUCATION IS A BUILDING.

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<sup>70</sup> The A level exams are the state-run tests which provide access to university in the UK.

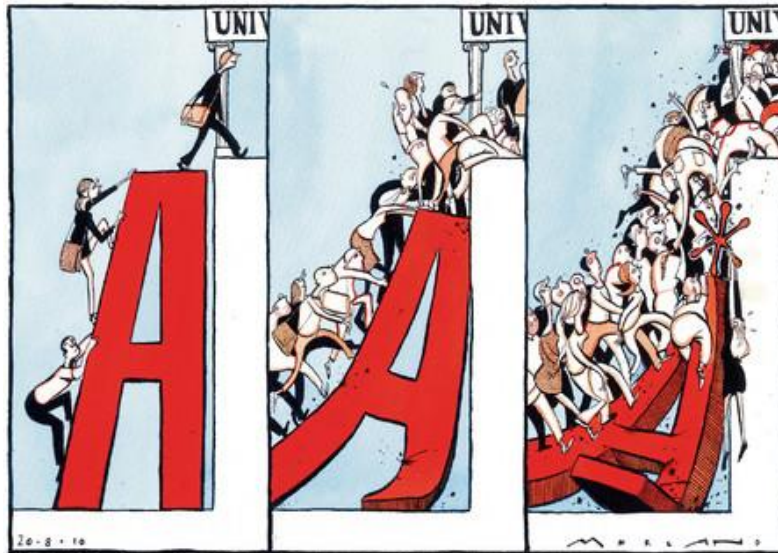


Figure 107. Morland's cartoon about A-levels. *The Times*, 20 August 2010.

Garland's cartoon shown in figure 108 displays an exploration scenario in which an Indian scout is having a glance at the horizon from an elevated position. Behind him, we see the rest of the tribe's warriors (WAR AND CONFLICT), who are seemingly waiting for an order to attack, as their rifles and spears suggest. On their horses' bodies the words "PUBLIC", "SECTOR" and "CUTS" can be read, and the phrase "TUITION FEES" is written on the scout's horse body. The caption "THE SCOUT" reflects the metaphor TUITION FEES ARE A SCOUT within a far west war scenario, in which the other measures against public expenditure are represented as the Indian army. This indicates that the Government was preparing more cuts on social issues.



Figure 108. Garland's cartoon about the increase of tuition fees. *The Sunday Telegraph*, 10 December 2010.

A considerable number of cartoons deal with the management of the NHS after the coalition Government had launched a campaign to restructure it. In Garland's cartoon (see figure 110), which pays tribute to Rembrandt's canvas *Anatomy Lesson* (1632), members of the surgeons' guild perform a dissection of a criminal. The surgeons' faces are replaced by those of the main Government members, e.g. Cameron, Clegg, Osborne, Alexander and Hague. While the surgeon is about to perform the dissection, the Secretary of State for Health, Andrew Lansley seems to be unable to do so, since the corpse, identified as the NHS, is already swollen. This is an illustration of the metaphor THE NHS IS A CORPSE, which entails that British politicians are the forensics. The body is fat, which indicates a possible cause for the decease.





Figure 109. Garland's cartoon about the state of the NHS. *The Daily Telegraph*, 14 July 2010.



Figure 110. Rembrandt's *Anatomy Lesson* (1632).

Not surprisingly, the most recurrent scenario to represent the NHS management is that of an operation theatre, as exemplified by Morland's cartoon (figure 111), which gives rise to the following set of mappings:

- THE NHS IS A PATIENT
- THE HEALTH SECRETARY IS THE SURGEON
- THE CHANCELLOR IS AN ASSISTANT
- RESTRUCTURING THE PUBLIC SERVICE IS PERFORMING OUT AN OPERATION

Some elements in this operation theatre strike the reader's eye and hint at the author's standpoint on the matter, much more critical than the previous one. First, neither the surgeon nor the assistant are dressed as doctors or health personnel, but as clerks. Osborne is even measuring the patient's spine with a calculator. The surgeon seems to be relocating parts of the body randomly. The patient, rather than being sedated, claims "I WANT A SECOND OPINION".



Figure 111. Morland's cartoon about the NHS. *The Times*, 16 December 2010.

The last cartoon in the 2010 subsection is related to Progressive Conservatism's spearhead for the 2010 general Election: the 'Big Society'. Two cartoons are concerned with 'the Big Society'. Brookes' cartoon takes advantage of the first official visit to the USA by Cameron as a Prime Minister in July 2010. The author depicts Cameron and Obama sitting on a couch. Obama says: "TELL ME ABOUT YOUR BIG SOCIETY...". Cameron's hands are on his lap as a sign of submission and his face is blushed, metonymically indicating that he is ashamed and does not know how to answer. Besides, Cameron is strikingly small in the image. If we regard Cameron as a metonymic representation of 'the Big Society' (PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT), the image encodes the conceptual metaphor IMPORTANCE IS SIZE, which is an implicit assessment of Cameron's proposal.



Figure 112. Brookes' cartoon about the 'Big Society'. *The Times*, 20 July 2010.

#### 3.4.4. The 2015 section

The 2015 campaign for the general election started in December 2014<sup>71</sup>. Regarding domestic issues, it was fought on the battlegrounds of immigration problems, extremism, and the political consequences of the referendum on Scottish independence. However, since the economic crisis that partially led the Conservatives back to Downing Street was coming to an end, the funding of public services started to dominate the political agenda. This is perceived in the 2015 manifesto which pleads:

Our commitment to you:

Our National Health Service must be there for you throughout your life. We will:

- continue to increase spending on the NHS, supported by a strong economy, so the NHS stays free for you to use
- spend at least an additional £8 billion by 2020 over and above inflation to fund and support the NHS's own action plan for the next five years the state of the union.

(2015 manifesto, p. 37)

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<sup>71</sup> <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/general-election-2015/11288395/And-theyre-off-the-2015-general-election-campaign-officially-starts-this-Friday.html>

#### 3.4.4.1. Conceptualisation of domestic issues in the 2015 section of the corpus

As earlier mentioned, the domestic agenda for the 2015 general election focused on the management of public services and immigration. This is reflected in the corpus: 36 occurrences of ‘NHS’, 94 occurrences of ‘school’, 26 occurrences of ‘immigration’, 34 hits of ‘welfare’, and 20 occurrences of ‘society’.

The ‘Big Society’ was still a relevant issue for the Conservative Party under Cameron in 2015. The expression appears five times, three of which collocating with ‘build’, thus instantiating the metaphor SOCIETY IS A BUILDING, as in (242) and (243). There are further examples of the conceptualisation of the society as a building (244).

(242) Helping you *build* the Big Society. Making government work better for you.

(243) *Building* the Big Society is about involving the people, neighbourhoods, villages, towns and cities of Britain in the great task of improving our country – and giving young people the power and opportunity to play a real part in their community.

(244) A free media is the *bedrock* of an open society.

For the Conservatives, the construction of ‘the Big Society’ is important inasmuch as it provides coherence to the state. The conceptual metaphor COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS is also instantiated in the corpus – see examples (245–249):

(245) We will work to ensure a *stable* constitution that is fair to the people of England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland

(246) Cutting your taxes and *building* a fairer welfare system

- (247) Strikes should only ever be the result of a clear, positive decision based on a ballot in which at least half the workforce has voted. This turnout *threshold* will be an important and fair step to *rebalance* the interests of employers, employees, the public and the rights of trade Unions.
- (248) Across the spectrum, from the student *route* to the family and work routes, we will *build a system* that truly puts you, your family and the British people first.
- (249) we will introduce a *framework* to recognise universities offering the highest teaching quality;

The domain of BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION is less pervasive in the 2015 section. ‘Build’ only occurs 24 times in a metaphorical sense and ‘framework’ retrieves one hit.

Most of the BUILDING terms are positively evaluated. Only ‘barrier’, as already noticed by Charteris-Black (2004: 73), carries negative connotations, since it impedes access to desired goals. ‘Threshold’ is metaphorically used to describe the scope of political measures adopted by the Conservatives. A concordance search for the term provided 22 occurrences in the corpus, 12 of which in the 2015 section. It is mainly used for taxation issues. In the 2015 manifesto it is also used to talk about requirements for strikes to take place:

- (250) Strikes should only ever be the result of a clear, positive decision based on a ballot in which at least half the workforce has voted. This turnout *threshold* will be an important and fair step to rebalance the interests of employers, employees, the public and the rights of trade unions.
- (251) We will, in addition, tackle the disproportionate impact of strikes in essential public services by introducing a tougher *threshold* in health, education, fire and transport.

The domains of WAR AND CONFLICT and GAMES AND SPORT are equally pervasive in this section of the corpus. Throughout this study, we have seen that the Conservatives systematically conceptualise social problems, usually poverty or equal opportunity, as enemies:

(252) We will help you *fight* poverty.

(253) We will *fight* for equal opportunity.

Apart from this, social problems are typically caused by Labour policies, which generates the metaphor LABOUR POLICIES ARE ATTACKS. This legitimates the position of the Conservative Party to defend (6 hits) and protect (87 hits in the 2015 section), showing *ethos* which will gain potential voters' sympathy, as in (254–258):

(254) They *raided* pensions with a £150 billion *stealth* tax.

(255) Developers were building too few homes and the aftermath of the banking crisis saw young people *struggling* to raise a deposit.

(256) We will *protect* our electoral system, to *safeguard* our democracy.

(257) With a future Conservative Government, you will have a truly 7-day NHS, at the frontier of science, offering you new drugs and treatments, *safeguarded* for years to come.

(258) And we will take new steps to encourage volunteering, enabling more people to join the *unsung heroes* who are the backbone of communities across Britain

Education in the UK is another Conservative concern. As shown in section 3.4.3.2., the reform on tuition fees in 2010 drew media attention. The education system is conceptualised in terms of MACHINES and SPORT:

(259) We have *boosted* research and development tax credits and we will continue to support our network of University Enterprise Zones, ensuring that Britain's world-beating universities are able to make money from the technology they develop.

(260) We will increase the number of teachers able to teach Mandarin in schools in England, so we can *compete in the global race*.

The source domain of RELIGION AND ETHICS supplied 11 lexical items metaphorically used in the 2015 manifesto. Since this domain is typically used to establish the party's *ethos* and arouse potential voters' empathy, it is used in the 2015 manifesto to establish the party's position of trust and confidence. Headwords like 'faithful' (1 hit), 'judge' (1 hit), and 'vision' (4 hits) trigger the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS RELIGION. The following examples illustrate the use of this source domain to deal with individual freedom (261), education (262) and the environment. In (264) the National Citizen Service (NCS) is conceptualised as an introductory ceremony in a religion, thus cueing the metaphor CITIZENSHIP IS RELIGION:

(261) The Bill will remain *faithful* to the basic principles of human rights, which we signed up to in the original European Convention on Human Rights.

(262) Any school *judged* by Ofsted to be requiring improvement will be taken over by the best headteachers – backed by expert sponsors or high-performing neighbouring schools – unless it can demonstrate that it has a plan to improve rapidly.

(263) For Conservatives, Britain's 'green and pleasant land' is not some *relic* from a bygone era, to be *mourned* and missed: it's the living, breathing backdrop to our national life.

(264) we will expand NCS – so it becomes *a rite of passage* for young people in our country.

(265) They see a country that *believes in* itself.

(266) Conservatives *believe in* controlled immigration, not mass immigration.

(267) The Big Society is a *vision* of a more engaged nation, one in which we take more responsibility for ourselves and our neighbours;

Finally, there is evidence of the interplay of RELIGION with other domains, such as HEALTH AND ILLNESS, which yields the metaphor INSTITUTIONS ARE ORGANISMS (268–271). Example (269) focuses on one of the main proposals for the 2015 campaign, known as ‘Right to Buy’ (7 occurrences in our corpus), which consisted in the creation of a national scheme to foster the acquisition of property<sup>72</sup>. This is a political measure already used by Thatcherite governments, as suggested by the term ‘reinvigorate’ to refer to its implementation. Besides, the detrimental effects of bureaucracy are also expressed through terms from the source domain of HEALTH AND ILLNESS.

(268) More spending means higher taxes for hardworking people, and interest rates that are higher than they otherwise would be – punishing homeowners, *hurting* businesses, costing Jobs.

(269) And we have *reinvigorated* the Right to Buy which Labour had cut back, extending home ownership to a whole new generation of social tenants.

(270) We will continue to *tackle* all the bureaucracy of Whitehall that *clogs the arteries* of government.

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<sup>72</sup> <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/david-cameron/11533924/David-Cameron-revives-right-to-buy-and-says-Tories-are-the-party-of-working-people.html>



(271) [...] and reduced the number of appeal routes to stop people *clogging up* our courts with spurious attempts to remain in the country.

Table 25 below summarises the main source domains, the underlying metaphors and the metaphorical expressions used to conceptualise domestic issues in the 2015 subcorpus.

SOURCE DOMAIN	METAPHOR	LEXICAL UNIT
MOVEMENT & DIRECTION	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	<i>stop</i> (8), <i>step</i> (8), <i>route</i> (6), <i>triple lock</i> (5)
WAR & CONFLICT	POLITICS IS CONFLICT/ SOCIAL PROBLEMS ARE ENEMIES	<i>protect</i> (8), <i>fight</i> (7), <i>aggressive</i> (5), <i>strategy</i> (4), <i>frontline</i> (4)
BUILDINGS & CONSTRUCTION	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	<i>strength</i> (23), <i>build</i> (23), <i>balance</i> (2), <i>rebalance</i> (2)
MACHINES & TOOLS	POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE/ THE STATE IS A MACHINE	<i>cut</i> (39), <i>boost</i> (8), <i>fix</i> (6), <i>clog up</i> (2), <i>tool</i> (2)
HEALTH & ILLNESS	COMPANIES ARE ORGANISMS	<i>grow</i> (11), <i>strong</i> (36), <i>healthy</i> (2), <i>weak</i> (2)

Table 25. Metaphorical conceptualisation of domestic issues in the 2015 section of the manifesto corpus.

#### 3.4.4.2. Conceptualisation of domestic issues in the 2015 section of the cartoon corpus

The 22 cartoons concerning domestic issues in the 2015 section of the cartoon corpus deal with issues discussed in the 2015 manifesto, including the NHS (4 cartoons), immigration (3 cartoons), and the constitution (4 cartoons).

The cartoons draw from 10 source domains, the most prominent one being MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION (4 cartoons).

The first cartoons are concerned with the electoral promise of spending 8 billion pounds on the NHS. The cartoon in figure 113 triggers a hospital metaphor scenario (Schilperoord and Maes 2009: 224–225) in which Cameron is a doctor and the NHS is personified as a patient apparently in a very serious condition. The doctor is about to give him electroshock treatment. The NHS is metonymically represented by a target-in-source metonymy (PERSON FOR ORGANISATION). Several metaphorical entailments underlie the image:

- CAMERON IS A DOCTOR
- THE NHS IS A PATIENT
- THE MONEY IS A MEDICINE
- POLITICS IS A HOSPITAL ROOM

Another metaphor, CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS A MEDICINE, is verbally rendered: the phrase £8 billion pounds can be read on the electroshock pads that the doctor is about to administer. Both Cameron and the patient are metonymies for Government and Institution (PERSON FOR ORGANISATION). The author's stance on the outcome of performing such an action is implied by the fact that the electroshock device is not plugged into the socket, which means that, without electric current, it will not be effective.



Figure 113. Adams' cartoon about the electoral promise to increase expenditure on the NHS.  
*The Daily Telegraph*, 19 May 2015.

The cartoon shown in figure 114 heavily criticises the government's promises to spend £8 billion on the NHS and offer a tax exemption in the inheritance tax. Cameron (PERSON FOR GOVERNMENT) is portrayed as a cleaning service member who is walking out of a building with bars at the entrance. It has a sign which reads "H.M. TREASURY". He is wearing a bag with a tag that reads "£8.8 BN NHS" and a bin with the words "INHERITANCE TAX GIVEAWAY". The action of stealing is performed in a quiet manner, and he is whistling. The action is represented by a score, metonymically standing for the action of pretending to escape unnoticed in a difficult situation (GESTURE FOR ACTION). The door of the H.M. Treasury is open and barred, which also stands for escaping (RESULT FOR ACTION). The caption reads "DIAMOND GEEZER". 'Diamond geezer' is a typical London slang expression to indicate that someone is very reliable and is always helpful. All these verbo-pictorial details profile the metaphor SPENDING LARGE SUMS OF PUBLIC MONEY IS STEALING. It is an ironical conceptualisation of the Government's proposal of investing such amounts of money on the NHS system while, at the same time, cutting taxes, implying that the H.M. treasury will have no funds.



Figure 114. Bob's cartoon about the Government's proposals. The Daily Telegraph, 12 April 2015.

The next cartoon (figure 115) reveals Morland's view of the management of welfare state services. Published a month after the Conservatives' victory in the 2015 general election, it draws on an amusement park scenario where families get on rides. However, the purpose of the ride is to scare people, and the ride they are on is a horror ride, with typical iconographic elements of horror movies. For example, Cameron, dressed in a smoking, is about to switch the ride on while saying "WE'VE REPLACED THE WELFARE MERRY-GO-ROUND". The ride's tracks are headed towards Iain Duncan Smith's mouth (who was at the time Secretary of State for Work and Pensions), metonymically standing for his Department (LEADER FOR INSTITUTION). Inside the ride, the Chancellor carries a blooded axe, as if he was ready to execute the families. The families on the ride metonymically stand for UK families. The ride is called "POVERTY EXPRESS". There is also a tombstone on which the words "TAX CREDITS", another of the Government's measures, can be read.

The cartoon profiles the metaphor CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS DEATH, contrasting with welfare state measures which are seen as a merry-go-round. This indicates that despite the Government efforts to make them less dramatic, spending cuts will be an unpleasant experience for British families.



Figure 115. Morland's cartoon about the announcement of the end of tax credits. *The Times*, 28 June 2015.

The next cartoon (figure 116) provides Brookes' interpretation of the measures adopted on the national living wage. We see a stereotypical scene in which paramedics (Iain Duncan-Smith and George Osborne) are trying to apply reanimation measures to a skeleton, which shows a tag with the word "WELFARE". This is a different instantiation of the metaphor CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS DEATH. The metaphor reflected is THE WELFARE STATE IS A SKELETON. The patient is not only dead, but has also lost all the flesh, which might activate the metaphor LACK OF FUNDING IS LACK OF WEIGHT.



Figure 116. Brookes' cartoon about the National Living Wage. *The Times*, 9 July 2015.

A red briefcase, which reads “NATIONAL LIVING WAGE<sup>73</sup> RESUSCITATION UNIT”, yields the metaphor CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS A MEDICINE. However, due to the nature of the National Living Wage, linked to the standardization of the minimum sum of money to be paid to workers, the conceptual metaphor overarching this scenario is MONEY IS A MEDICINE (see figure 117). Brookes believes that the measures will have no effect, because the patient is not just a corpse, but a skeleton already.

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<sup>73</sup> The National Living Wage (MLW) came into force on 1 April 2016. It consisted in setting wage standards above the minimum wage (NMW) to boost the income of poorly paid workers. For a brief explanation check <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-33463231>.

## HOSPITAL

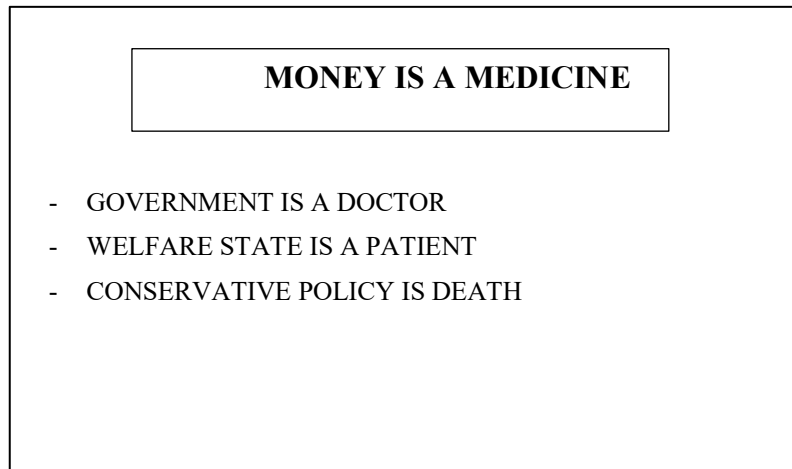


Figure 117. Entailments of MONEY IS A MEDICINE within a hospital scenario.

Bob's interpretation of the same issue is similar (figure 118). In Bob's cartoon we see a girl with a teddy bear and a man in a suit trying to open a safe box which is full of money, as some notes are stuck between the door and the deposit (RESULT FOR CAUSE metonymy). The man must be a doctor, since he is using a stethoscope to open the safe box and a briefcase where "NHS TRUST" can be read. The girl, who is pale (RESULT FOR CAUSE metonymy), is coughing, and the man says: "SHHHHHH!".

In order to interpret this cartoon, it is necessary to know that NHS trusts are managed by executive directors appointed by the government. Thus, the metaphor THE NHS IS A PATIENT and the part-whole metonymy (the safe box standing for the HMS Treasury) reveal criticism of politicians (the directors of the NHS trust) for always searching for funding, leaving patients behind.





Figure 118. Bob's cartoon about the management of the NHS. *The Daily Telegraph*, 25 July 2015.

Another relevant issue in the 2015 section of the cartoon corpus is immigration. Six cartoons deal with this issue. Most of them show the impossibility of tackling the problem. They feature Theresa May, the Home Secretary, in her typical leopard-print shoes, which metonymically represent her, like Thatcher's hairstyle and handbag. In the cartoon shown in figure 119, she looks confident. She is wearing a blue jacket showing a book entitled "COUNTER EXTREMISM STRATEGY". The caption reads "WHAT'S PROMISED", pointing to the government's announcement of the implementation of a national strategy to prevent terrorist attacks. In the second part of the cartoon, we see the caption "WHAT'S DELIVERED" together with a person covered by a black burka. The person must be identified with May since she is wearing her leopard-print shoes. The target of the cartoon, the Conservative failure in dealing with illegal immigration, is verbally cued by the captions. The word 'strategy' in the book title may be interpreted as a metonymy (PRODUCT FOR CONTENT) subsumed within the metaphor POLITICS IS CONFLICT. In addition, the burka metonymically represents extremism, and reflects the metaphor CHANGING DRESS IS CHANGING IDEOLOGY, suggesting that the Conservative Government has lost the conflict against extremism.





Figure 119. Bob's cartoon about Theresa May. *The Daily Telegraph*, 22 March 2015.

Brookes exploits the theme of leopard-print shoes to activate the source domain of ANIMALS in the cartoon shown in figure 120. May is in a confident but aggressive demeanour, backgrounded by the Union Jack, where “[M]IGRANTS OUT!” can be read, verbally signalling the target of the cartoon. From her shoes arise two leopards that are preying on and eating human bodies, which should be identified as immigrants on the basis of their outfit. In a comical pun, May utters “SO IT’S GOODBYE TO KITTEN HEELS”. The cartoonist draws on the predatory metaphor by which the danger perceived in the leopard actions are mapped onto May’s position on immigration, which is dysphemistically conceptualised by Brookes. This negative evaluation is not only targeted at May’s political stance, but also at her very political persona, since, as pointed out by Crespo-Fernández (2015), when women are viewed as WILD ANIMALS, they are normally associated with negatively evaluated feelings such as greed, fear and destructiveness.



Figure 120. Brookes' cartoon about May's stance on immigration. *The Times*, 7 October 2015.

As advanced above, the state of the Union was again an issue in the 2015 general election. Scotland held a referendum in September 2013. Its unclear outcome (only 55% of voters voted to remain in the UK) and subsequent claims to hold a second referendum from the Scottish Nationalist Party (SNP) were a news topic in the run up to the 2015 general election.

This is reflected in the 2015 section of the cartoon corpus, where five cartoons deal with the Scottish problem. In all of them Nicola Sturgeon, the leader of the SNP is represented as a problem to Cameron's political agenda. The cartoon shown in figure 119, deals with a controversy generated by Cameron's proposal of lifting the ban imposed by Blair's government on fox-hunting and the negotiations with Scotland after the referendum for independence held in 2013. We see Sturgeon – the Scottish First minister, who is wearing a jumper with the Scottish flag and a kilt (target-in-source metonymy SYMBOL FOR INSTITUTION), gallop towards Cameron, who is fleeing, showing a white flag as a sign of surrender, and is strikingly disguised as a fox. The caption reads "THE UNMANAGEABLE IN PURSUIT OF THE INEVITABLE". The sentence echoes Lord Gilmour of Craigmillar's (1926-2007)<sup>74</sup> statement on Thatcher's

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<sup>74</sup> Lord Ian Gilmour of Craigmillar was a Conservative politician who opposed Thatcher. He was known for being liberal-minded and has written important books about Conservatism in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

monetarist policies, which he branded as “the uncontrollable in pursuit of the indefinable”<sup>75</sup>.

By picturing Sturgeon on a horse riding in pursuit of Cameron, Adams cues the metaphor POLITICAL DISADVANTAGE IS BEING A PREY. Two source domains come into play: ANIMALS and GAMES AND SPORT. Actually, fox hunting, which has historically been a popular leisure activity among the British upper class, is regarded as a type of bloodsport. Depicting Cameron as a fox which is about to be hunted despite surrendering (INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION metonymy cued by the white flag) maps a position of lack of political power to ‘manage’ the problem created with Scotland after the tight result of the 2013 referendum and the political negotiations to obtain further political autonomy. Again, in figure 121, as in the cartoon about the EU referendum shown in figure 91, a politician who puts forward an idea is riding a horse. However, this time, the Scottish First Minister controls the horse in pursuit of the fox.

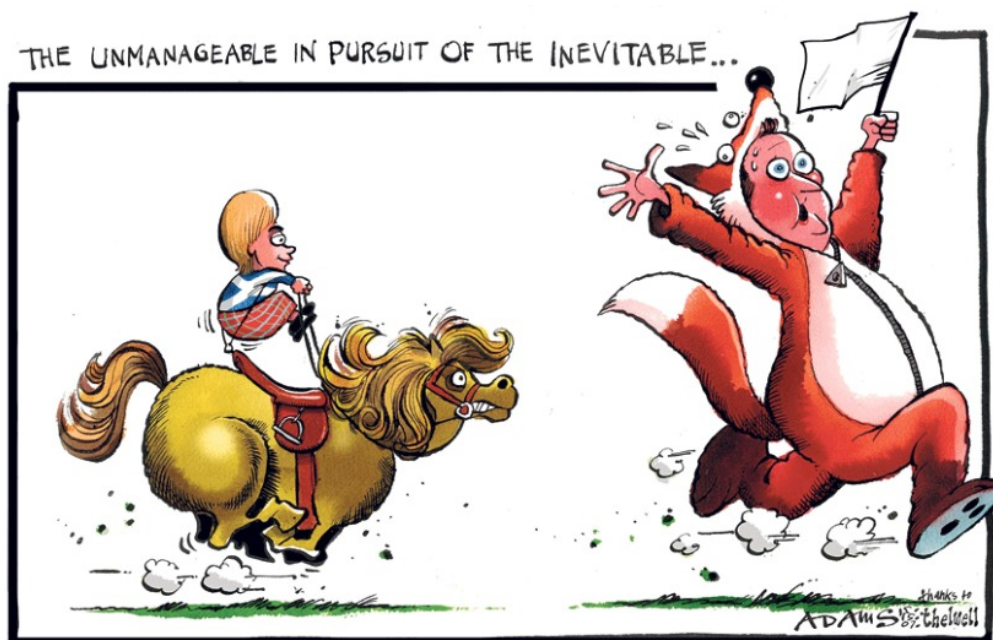


Figure 121. Adams’ cartoon about a second referendum in Scotland. *The Daily Telegraph*, 15 July 2015.

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<sup>75</sup> <http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/111028>

### 3.4.5. Comparison and discussion of results in the domestic section.

Section 3.4. is concerned with the conceptualisation of domestic issues in the manifesto corpus and in the cartoon corpus. The choice of issues in the manifestos is related to political ideology. For example, the 1997 campaign was dominated by ‘sleaze’ scandals, which meant the end of Conservative governments. However, only a vague reference to “openness and greater accountability” and 3 hits for ‘accountability’ occur in the 1997 manifesto. Instead, the Conservative discourse for the 1997 general election highlighted the scope of their achievements in the last five years. It focused on preserving the constitution and attacking the main social ills, making constant references to the pre-Thatcher period. The liberal focus of Conservative policies under Major, Thatcher’s successor, was reflected in the use of WAR AND CONFLICT metaphors to show a defensive position against perceived threats. The Conservative Party relied on BUILDING and CLOTHES metaphors to establish its position against the threat of devolution proposals.

MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION metaphors play a relevant role as overarching metaphors providing coherence in the 1997 subcorpus as well as in the other manifestos.

In contrast, the British Conservative press paid little attention to domestic affairs other than corruption scandals. The cartoons in *The Daily Telegraph* and *the Times* were concerned with political corruption, and activate the metaphors CORRUPTION IS DIRT or two metaphorical scenarios. In the game scenario, the party is shown as being trapped or about to lose the game. In the second scenario (see figures 100 and 101) the main Conservative leaders face a dangerous situation, thus anticipating a negative outcome in the upcoming election. As seen in 3.4.1.2., the cartoonists portrayed the Conservatives in terms of MOVEMENT and ANIMAL metaphors, often mapping inability to move, and signal the end of the Conservative rule through the metaphor POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION.

The political problems regarding leadership succession described in sections 3.1.2.1. and 3.1.2.2. explain the use of the same conceptualisation patterns in domestic issues in the 2001 and 2005 elections. Thus, in the 2001-2005 section of the corpus the dominant source domain is WAR AND CONFLICT. The term ‘threat’ depicts Labour policies and social problems while the Conservatives ‘protect’ traditional liberties, in line with Thatcherite liberal policies. In the 2001-2005 section, MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION metaphors are used somewhat contradictorily, since ‘stop’ (6 instances) is positively evaluated to impede the advance of Labour policies while Labour policies are conceptualised as traps for people. BUILDING metaphors depict a crumbling system under Blair’s government, as seen examples (196–202).

On the contrary, the cartoon corpus reveals that immigration was one of the main *foci* of the Conservative campaign, and is often conceptualised through MOVEMENT, ANIMAL and GAMES metaphors, with a view to showing the little chances of success of such policies. This is consistent with research on political science. As Seldon and Snowdon remark (2005: 253), the policy agenda had swung away from the traditional Conservative strengths of tax cuts and privatisation to improving public services and quality of life, areas in which Labour had an advantage. In addition, the benign performance of the economy and New Labour’s adoption of much of the Conservative Party’s free market thinking gave the party little room to attack the government (Dorey, 2003: 127).

The 2001-2005 section is characterised by the same conceptualisation patterns. Immigration was the main issue, as also reflected in the cartoons. The GAMES and BEASTS scenarios point to the futility of the strategy.

The 2010 section is characterised by the change in conceptualisation patterns brought by Progressive Conservatism and ‘the Big Society’. The domains of BUILDING and HEALTH AND ILLNESS are prevalent, whereas WAR and SPORT lose relevance. ‘The Big Society’, which provided the foundation for the Conservative domestic policy, was described in terms of BUILDING metaphors. From a quantitative point of view, the pervasiveness of ‘society’ is to be interpreted as an attempt to detach

from Thatcherism. At the same time, HEALTH AND ILLNESS metaphors are used to depict Conservative policies as medicines, complementing the already tried-and-trusted conceptualisation of Labour policies in terms of WAR AND CONFLICT. The reform of the British political system is understood in terms of both BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION and MACHINES AND TOOLS, instantiating COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS and THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE.

Cartoonists focused on the management of public services such as education and the NHS. Interestingly, in this section cartoons regarding the NHS present a hospital scenario where the NHS is represented as a patient being examined by Conservative politicians depicted as doctors.

The 2015 section displays similarities with both the 2010 section and the Thatcherite discourse underlying the 1997 and 2001-2005 sections. HEALTH and BUILDING metaphors are pervasive in the conceptualisation of social systems and institutions such as the NHS or ‘the Big Society’. The 2015 section also showed an increase of CONFLICT metaphors and RELIGION metaphors, which should be interpreted as an attempt to keep a distinctive discourse whereas the party adopted policies from Thatcher’s times. This is supported by McAnulla (2014), who pointed out that the ‘Big Society’ focused on encouraging voluntary, community and religious groups to work in greater partnership with the public sector.

The cartoons in the 2015 section focused on the measures adopted by the Conservatives to deal with public services. Thus, when they depict the NHS, they activate the metaphor CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS A MEDICINE, although the medicine has little or no effect, and often results in death (CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS DEATH).

Finally, ANIMAL metaphors prove to be very frequent, since they are used to indicate the author’s stance about Conservative immigration policies or the Conservative leader of the time. The criticism of social Conservative measures,

especially on immigration and corruption, is exercised through the exploitation of the dysphemistic power of ANIMAL metaphors.

## 4. CONCLUSIONS

This final section presents the main findings of this dissertation with a view to discussing their practical implications and applications to cognitive approaches to discourse.

The present research has aimed to contrast conceptualisation strategies underlying different accounts of the same issues discussed from different perspectives. Even though the Conservative Party and the British conservative press share common interests, their ideological stances may not coincide.

We have attempted to provide an answer to a set of research questions formulated in the introduction:

1. What are the similarities and differences in metaphorical representation between the manifestos issued by the Conservative Party?
2. What are the similarities and differences in the metaphorical configuration of particular issues between the Conservative manifestos?
3. What are the similarities and differences between the manifesto corpus and the cartoon corpus in terms of metaphorical conceptualisation?
4. How can we account for metaphor selection in the Conservative Party's manifestos and political cartoons?

We have answered these four questions by analysing and contrasting the issues within each section of the manifesto corpus and the cartoon corpus.



In Section 3.1. we were concerned with the conceptualisation of leadership in the Conservative Party. Conservative manifestos heavily rely on the source domains of MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION, BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION, and RELIGION AND ETHICS to express their political *ethos*. When the party was in power, MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION metaphors served the purpose of indicating the need to continue along a path. When in opposition, as seen in 3.1.2.1. and 3.1.3.1., they express the need for a change in the direction taken by Labour government, and often express impending movements. RELIGION and WAR metaphors are used in the 2010 manifesto (see table 10). Cameron used Christian themes to define his own political persona and to highlight ‘core’ values which he argues are central to British identity in an attempt to empathise with the public. The main source domains used in the 2015 section were those already known to characterise Thatcherite discourse.

As regards the cartoon corpus, most cartoons target either (1) the lack of ability of the political leader, or (2) Thatcher’s influence. The most common source domain is MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION. The metaphors POLITICAL INACTIVITY IS LACK OF PHYSICAL MOVEMENT (especially applied to Major) and POLITICAL INABILITY IS LACK OF CONTROL OVER MOVEMENT (applied to the rest of the leaders, including Cameron) are pervasive. Howard was continuously depicted as a Dracula.

Section 3.2. was concerned with the conceptualisation of economic issues. The neo-liberal economic policies advocated by the Conservative Party since Thatcher times explain the pervasiveness of the metaphors THE ECONOMY IS CONFLICT and the ECONOMY IS COMPETITION. However, under Cameron, the conceptualisation of economic issues is carried out through the metaphors THE ECONOMY IS A BUILDING and THE ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM, which equated the economic situation to a state of physical health. Source domains serve to: (1) to highlight the potential of the community in an attempt to rebrand the Conservative Party under the banner of Progressive Conservatism; or (2) to allow Cameron to show high moral grounds. There is a lower occurrence of WAR AND CONFLICT and GAMES AND SPORT metaphors, while BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION and HEALTH AND ILLNESS metaphors prevail under Cameron’s leadership (2010–2015).

Many cartoons in the economic section focus on economic measures. The domain of MOVEMENT is recurrently used to depict the economic situation. From 2010, cartoons display various instantiations of economic cuts through cutting devices, which activate the metaphorical representation of the containment of public spending as cutting an object. There is also an increase in the number of cartoons drawing from the source domain of HEALTH AND ILLNESS and profiling the metaphor FINANCIAL SITUATION IS PHYSICAL FITNESS. Culturally-marked metaphorical scenarios such as seafare and gardening are also common. Within the source domain of MOVEMENT, eight cartoons reveal a conceptualisation based on a seafare scene, while three cartoons depict a gardening scene.

Section 3.3. dealt with the conceptualisation of BNI issues, which were of utmost importance to the Conservative Party. This is reflected in the prevalence of the source domain of WAR AND CONFLICT in the 1997 and 2015 manifestos in order to express the Conservatives' opposition to further European integration.

The bulk of the cartoons were concerned with the European Union. In the 1997-2005 period, the most common conceptualisation strategy was to combine MOVEMENT and WAR metaphors to create scenarios showing negative prospects for Conservative leaders. During Cameron's tenure, the focus shifted to the lack of positive results, drawing on a variety of scenarios to activate the metaphor THE STATE IS A PERSON, in line with Musolff (2004, 2010, 2016) and Charteris-Black (2004, 2005). Cameron is portrayed as being unable to obtain results in scenarios drawing on sporting events, TV shows and official state visits.

Section 3.4. examined domestic issues. In the 1997 and 2001-2005 sections, when the party was concerned with national unity, CLOTHING metaphors are used to map the complexity of the British nation. Their position as defenders against Labour policies or social problems made them rely on the source domain of WAR AND CONFLICT. Under Cameron, there is a detachment from the Thatcherite individualistic

approach to emphasise collectiveness through metaphors from the source domain of BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION (“*build* the Big Society”), HEALTH AND ILLNESS and MACHINES AND TOOLS. These metaphors represent the intended reform of the British political system.

The conceptualisation of domestic issues in the cartoon corpus is dominated by the source domain of MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION, which instantiates the metaphor POLITICAL INABILITY IS LACK OF CONTROL OVER MOVEMENT. ANIMAL, GAMES AND SPORT metaphors are also used. The alleged shift of focus towards the management of public services explains the occurrence of HEALTH AND ILLNESS metaphors, which shape the measures adopted by the Government in the 2010 and 2015 sections as medicines.

Our research has also revealed the main source domains underlying Conservative rhetoric between 1997 and 2015 and the way in which they are used. For example, the domain of WAR AND CONFLICT is usually used by the Conservative Party before Cameron for dysphemistic purposes in the identification of Labour. In the same way, the domain of ANIMALS was consistently used by cartoonists to present a derogatory image of Conservative political leaders or their political proposals, through the mappings of irrational and undesired habits and behaviours onto them.

Future research lines might include the conceptualisation strategies used by political parties across the British ideological spectrum such as Labour, Scottish and Welsh nationalist parties along with populist parties such as UKIP. A second research line would be developed through contrastive studies on different countries a similar political spectrum, with a view to understanding the cognitive and rhetorical resources upon which conservatism, socialism and populism are based, as well as to analysing how the press conceptualised them.

The knowledge of the cognitive and sociological elements that shape cultural identities will contribute to reciprocal understanding, mitigating the tensions which dominate foreign affairs policy at the moment of writing this thesis.

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**APPENDIX 1:** Screenshot of the Excel file containing the analysis of the manifesto corpus.

	A	B	C	D	E	G	H	I
1	YEAR	LEMMA	HITS	TARGET	SOURCE	CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR	CONTEXT	NOTAS
50	1997	barrier	5/5	DOMESTIC ISSUES	BUILDINGS & CO	DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS	T We will introduce legislation to remove unnecessary barrier	
51	2001	barrier	1/1	DOMESTIC ISSUES	BUILDINGS & CO	DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS	T Reducing barriers to students	
52	2010	barrier	14/14	DOMESTIC ISSUES	BUILDINGS & CO	DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS	T After 13 years of Labour government, there have been some	
53	2015	barrier	2/3	BNI: EU / DOMESTIC ISSUES	BUILDINGS & CO	DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS	T We want to expand the Single Market, breaking down the r	
61	1997	bedrock	1/1	DOMESTIC ISSUES	BUILDINGS & CO	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDING	Good nursing is the bedrock of the NHS.	
62	2010	bedrock	3/3	DOMESTIC ISSUES / ECO	BUILDINGS & CO	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDING	Strong families are the t The bedrock of this new economic	
63	2015	bedrock	1/1	DOMESTIC ISSUES	BUILDINGS & CO	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDING	A free media is the bedrock of an open society. We will de	
118	1997	build	20/28	DOMESTIC ISSUES / ECO	BUILDINGS & CO	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDING	But we now have to build on these reforms to deliver even l	
119	2001	build	15/20	DOMESTIC ISSUES / ECO	BUILDINGS & CO	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDING	The next Conservative Government will help build a strong	
120	2010	build	77/89	DOMESTIC ISSUES / ECO	BUILDINGS & CO	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDING	We will never deal with Build the Big Society (x28) // Build	
121	2015	build	24/73	DOMESTIC ISSUES / ECO	BUILDINGS & CO	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDING	ALL	
122	1997	building block	1/1	DOMESTIC ISSUES	BUILDINGS & CO	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDING	Cutting your taxes and building a fairer welfare system Con	
123	2010	building block	5/5	DOMESTIC ISSUES / ECO	BUILDINGS & CO	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDING	These policies will give ECONOMIC (2), DOMESTIC (2)	
185	1997	cornerstone	1/1	BNI: FFAA	BUILDINGS & CO	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDING	NATO will remain the cornerstone of our security.	
186	2010	cornerstone	1/1	BNI: FFAA	BUILDINGS & CO	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDING	However, we believe that NATO, whilst in need of reform,	
187	2015	cornerstone	1/1	BNI: FFAA	BUILDINGS & CO	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDING	we will continue to ensure that defence policy remains firm	
201	2010	crumbling	1/1	DOMESTIC ISSUES	BUILDINGS & CO	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDING	They can see that the once-strong bonds of obligation and n	
331	1997	firm	2/2	DOMESTIC ISSUES	BUILDINGS & CO	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDING	Firm, but fair, immigration controls underpin good race rela	
332	2001	firm	1/1	DOMESTIC ISSUES	BUILDINGS & CO	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDING	Immediately upon taking office, we will implement our Stra	
333	2010	firm	3/3	BNI: EU / BNI: FFAA / DOI	BUILDINGS & CO	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDING	This will create a welfare system that is fair but firm.	
334	2015	firm	1/1	DOMESTIC ISSUES	BUILDINGS & CO	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDING	Onshore windfarms often fail to win public support, howe	
335	2010	fissure	1/1	DOMESTIC ISSUES	BUILDINGS & CO	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDING	The events of recent months have revealed the size of the fi	
340	2015	fixing the roof	1/1	ECONOMIC ISSUES	BUILDINGS & CO	ECONOMY IS A BUILDING	future shocks by fixing the roof while the sun is shining.	
365	2001	foundation	2/3	DOMESTIC ISSUES / ECO	BUILDINGS & CO	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDING	We will secure the foundations of a successful and decent s	
366	2010	foundation	4/6	DOMESTIC ISSUES / ECO	BUILDINGS & CO	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDING	We will work patiently with the grain of other societies, but	

**APPENDIX 2:** Cartoons devoted to domestic issues in the 2015 section of the cartoon corpus

	<p>Reference No.: 102251</p> <p>Author: Bob Moran</p> <p>Publication: <i>The Daily Telegraph</i></p> <p>Date: 3 February 2015</p> <p>Target: Domestic issues</p>
	<p>Reference No.: 102437</p> <p>Author: Dave Brown</p> <p>Publication: <i>The Times</i></p> <p>Date: 5 March 2015</p> <p>Target: Domestic issues</p>
<div data-bbox="279 1209 598 1646"> <p>WHAT'S PROMISED:</p>  <p>BoB 22-03-15</p> </div> <div data-bbox="614 1209 933 1646"> <p>WHAT'S DELIVERED:</p>  </div>	<p>Reference No.: 102340</p> <p>Author: Bob Moran</p> <p>Publication: <i>The Sunday Telegraph</i></p> <p>Date: 22 March 2015</p> <p>Target: Domestic issues</p>





Reference No.: 102428  
 Author: Dave Brown  
 Publication: *The Times*  
 Date: 24 March 2015  
 Target: Domestic issues



Reference No.: 102581  
 Author: Morten Morland  
 Publication: *The Times*  
 Date: 6 April 2015  
 Target: Domestic issues



Reference No.: 102576  
 Author: Peter Brookes  
 Publication: *The Times*  
 Date: 21 April 2015  
 Target: Domestic issues



Reference No.: 102962  
 Author: Peter Brookes  
 Publication: *The Times*  
 Date: 1 May 2015  
 Target: Domestic issues



Reference No.: Unknown

Author: Christian Adams

Publication:

*The Daily Telegraph*

Date: 15 May 2015

Target: Domestic issues



Reference No.: 102675

Author: Christian Adams

Publication:

*The Daily Telegraph*

Date: 19 May 2015

Target: Domestic issues



Reference No.: 102910

Author: Christian Adams

Publication:

*The Daily Telegraph*

Date: 9 July 2015

Target: Domestic issues

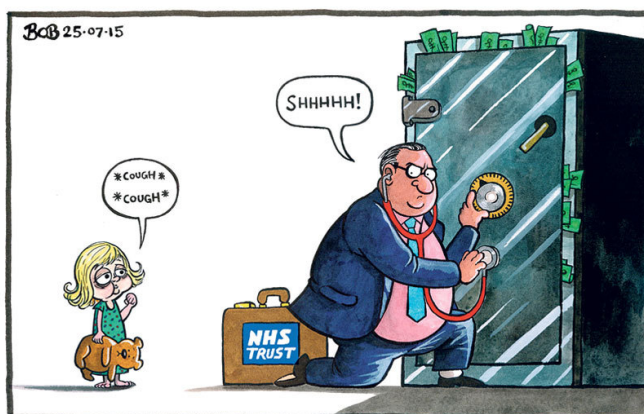




Reference No.: 102985  
 Author: Peter Brookes  
 Publication: *The Times*  
 Date: 9 July 2015  
 Target: Domestic issues



Reference No.: 102913  
 Author: Christian Adams  
 Publication: *The Daily Telegraph*  
 Date: 15 July 2015  
 Target: Domestic issues



Reference No.: Unknown  
 Author: Bob Moran  
 Publication: *The Sunday Telegraph*  
 Date: 25 July 2015  
 Target: Domestic issues



Reference No.: 102971  
 Author: Peter Brookes  
 Publication: *The Times*  
 Date: 31 July 2015  
 Target: Domestic issues



Reference No.: 102927  
 Author: Christian Adams  
 Publication: *The Daily Telegraph*  
 Date: 7 August 2015  
 Target: Domestic issues

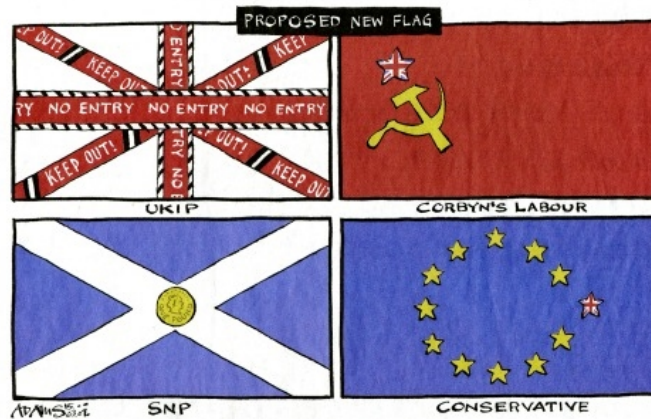


Reference No.: 102935  
 Author: Christian Adams  
 Publication: *The Daily Telegraph*  
 Date: 13 August 2015  
 Target: Domestic issues





Reference No.: 102944  
 Author: Christian Adams  
 Publication:  
*The Daily Telegraph*  
 Date: 28 August 2015  
 Target: Domestic issues



Reference No.:103232  
 Author: Christian Adams  
 Publication:  
*The Daily Telegraph*  
 Date: 3 September 2015  
 Target: Domestic issues



Reference No.: Unknown  
 Author: Bob Moran  
 Publication:  
*The Sunday Telegraph*  
 Date: 5 September 2015  
 Target: Domestic issues



Reference No.: 103029  
 Author: Andy Bunday  
 Publication: *The Times*  
 Date: 20 September 2015  
 Target: Domestic issues



Reference No.: 103219  
 Author: Christian Adams  
 Publication: *The Daily Telegraph*  
 Date: 24 September 2015  
 Target: Domestic issues



Reference No.: Unknown  
 Author: Peter Brookes  
 Publication: *The Times*  
 Date: 7 October 2015  
 Target: Domestic issues

### APPENDIX 3: Metaphors classified by source domain and target.

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
ANIMALS	BNI	<i>cocoon</i>	COUNTRIES ARE ANIMALS	1997 (1)
		<i>evolve</i>	INSTITUTIONS ARE ORGANISMS	2001-2005 (1)
	DOMESTIC ISSUES	<i>curb</i>	POLITICAL CONTROL IS CONTROL OVER MOTION	1997 (5) 2001-2005 (1) 2010 (2)
		<i>earmark</i>	MONEY IS CATTLE	2010 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>evolution</i>	POLITICS IS LIFE	1997 (1)
		<i>evolve</i>	INSTITUTIONS ARE ORGANISMS	2001-2005 (2)
		<i>flock</i>	IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS	2015 (1)
		<i>groom</i>	PREPARING IS CLEANING	2015 (2)
		<i>to be trapped in a web of regulations</i>	LABOUR POLICY IS IMPEDIMENT TO MOVEMENT	2010 (1)
		<i>unleash</i>	CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS AN ANIMAL	2010 (3)
		<i>watchdog</i>	INSTITUTIONS ARE ANIMALS	2010 (1) 2015 (1)
BUILDINGS & CONSTRUCTION	BNI	<i>barrier</i>	DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOVEMENT	2015 (1)
		<i>build</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	1997 (5) 2001-2005 (5) 2010 (3) 2015 (1)
		<i>cornerstone</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	1997 (1) 2010 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>firm</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	2010 (2)
		<i>framework</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>reconstruction</i>	THE STATE IS A BUILDING	2010 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>reinforce</i>	POLITICAL ACTION IS A BUILDING	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (1)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
		<i>reunite</i>	POLITICAL AGREEMENT IS PHYSICAL UNION	2010 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>rigid</i>	INSTITUTIONS ARE BUILDINGS	1997 (1)
		<i>robustly</i>	ACTIONS ARE PHYSICAL ENTITIES	2015 (1)
		<i>stability</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	1997 (4)
		<i>stable</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	1997 (1) 2010 (1) 2015 (3)
		<i>strength</i>	THE STATE IS AN ORGANISM	1997 (3) 2001-2005 (6) 2010 (3) 2015 (11)
		<i>strong</i>	INSTITUTIONS ARE BUILDINGS	2010 (5)
		<i>undermine</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS SOCIAL SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS A BUILDING	2001-2005 (1) 2015 (2)
	DOMESTIC ISSUES	<i>balance</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS THE STATE IS A BUILDING ECONOMY IS A BUILDING	1997 (7) 2001-2005 (4) 2010 (5) 2015 (2)
		<i>barrier</i>	DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOVEMENT	1997 (5) 2001-2005 (1) 2010 (14) 2015 (1)
		<i>bedrock</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	1997 (1) 2010 (2) 2015 (1)
		<i>build</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	1997 (7) 2001-2005 (8) 2010 (50) 2015 (23)
		<i>building block</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	1997 (1) 2010 (2)
		<i>ceiling on ambition</i>	LIFE, HEALTH AND STATE ARE UP	2015 (1)
		<i>crumbling</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	2010 (1)
		<i>firm</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	1997 (2) 2001-2005 (1) 2010 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>fissure</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE	2010 (1)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
			BUILDINGS	
		<i>foot on the ladder</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	2010 (1)
		<i>foundation</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (2)
		<i>framework</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	1997 (3) 2015 (1)
		<i>massive</i>	QUANTITY IS SIZE	1997 (5)
		<i>platform</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	2010 (2) 2015 (2)
		<i>rebalance</i>	ECONOMY IS A BUILDING	2010 (1) 2015 (2)
		<i>reinforce</i>	POLITICAL ACTION IS A BUILDING	2010 (1)
		<i>rock</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	1997 (1)
		<i>ruin</i>	PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS A BUILDING	1997 (1) 2001-2005 (3) 2010 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>set in stone</i>	LACK OF CHANGE IS BEING WRITTEN IN STONE	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>shatter</i>	SOCIETY IS A BUILDING	2010 (2)
		<i>solid</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	2010 (1)
		<i>stability</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	1997 (8)
		<i>stable</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	1997 (2) 2001-2005 (1) 2010 (6) 2015 (1)
		<i>strength</i>	SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE ORGANISMS	1997 (6) 2001-2005 (11) 2010 (20) 2015 (23)
		<i>strong</i>	INSTITUTIONS ARE BUILDINGS	2010 (18)
		<i>sustain</i>	INDUSTRIAL TENSION IS CONFLICT	1997 (9)
		<i>tear down</i>	RACISM IS AN OBSTACLE	2010 (4)
		<i>undermine</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS SOCIAL SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS A	1997 (2) 2001-2005 (5) 2010 (10)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
			BUILDING	
		<i>vandalised</i>	LABOUR POLICY IS VANDALISM	2001-2005 (1)
	ECONOMIC ISSUES	<i>balance</i>	ECONOMY IS A BUILDING	2010 (4) 2015 (4)
		<i>bedrock</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	2010 (1)
		<i>build</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	2001-2005 (2) 2010 (14) 2015 (11)
		<i>building block</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	2010 (2)
		<i>fixing the roof</i>	ECONOMY IS A BUILDING	2015 (1)
		<i>foundation</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>fragile</i>	ECONOMY IS A BUILDING	2015 (1)
		<i>framework</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (3)
		<i>instability</i>	ECONOMY IS A BUILDING	2010 (1)
		<i>rebalance</i>	ECONOMY IS A BUILDING	2010 (1) 2015 (3)
		<i>ruin</i>	ECONOMY IS A BUILDING	2015 (1)
		<i>stable</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	1997 (3) 2001-2005 (2) 2010 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>strength</i>	ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM	1997 (1) 2010 (2) 2015 (3)
		<i>strong</i>	INSTITUTIONS ARE BUILDINGS	2010 (4) 2015 (7)
		<i>structural</i>	ECONOMY IS A BUILDING	2010 (5) 2015 (2)
		<i>threshold</i>	ECONOMY IS A BUILDING	1997 (2) 2001-2005 (1) 2010 (6) 2015 (12)
		<i>work</i>	THE STATE IS A BUILDING THE STATE IS A MACHINE	2015 (1)
	LEADERSHIP	<i>build</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	1997 (7) 2010 (11) 2015 (3)
		<i>building block</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	2010 (1)



SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
		<i>foundation</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	2010 (1)
		<i>fragment</i>	POLITICAL INFLUENCE IS A SOLID OBJECT	1997 (1)
		<i>reinforce</i>	POLITICAL ACTION IS A BUILDING	1997 (1) 2001-2005 (1)
		<i>remould</i>	IDEOLOGY IS PHYSICAL APPEARANCE	2010 (1)
		<i>stability</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS	1997 (1)
		<i>strength</i>	THE STATE IS AN ORGANISM	1997 (2) 2010 (1)
COOKING & FOOD	BNI: EU	<i>wafer-thin</i>	ABSTRACT IS MATERIAL	2015 (1)
	DOMESTIC ISSUES	<i>grain</i>	IMPORTANT ELEMENTS ARE FOOD	2010 (4)
		<i>nurture</i>	MONEY IS FOOD	2001-2005 (1)
	ECONOMIC ISSUES	<i>starved</i>	MONEY IS FOOD	2015 (1)
		<i>wafer-thin</i>	ABSTRACT IS MATERIAL	1997 (1)
CREATION & DESTRUCTION	BNI	<i>shape</i>	GOOD GOVERNING IS CREATING	2010 (1)
	DOMESTIC ISSUES	<i>shape</i>	GOOD GOVERNING IS CREATING	1997 (1) 2001-2005 (7) 2010 (3)
		<i>trampled on</i>	LABOUR POLICY IS DESTRUCTION	2010 (1)
		<i>wreck</i>	LABOUR POLICY IS A DISASTER	1997 (1)
	ECONOMIC ISSUES	<i>job-destructing</i>	LABOUR POLICY IS DESTRUCTION	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>promote</i>	GOOD GOVERNING IS CREATING	2001-2005 (2)
		<i>shape</i>	GOOD GOVERNING IS CREATING	1997 (1) 2010 (1)
	LEADERSHIP	<i>create</i>	GOOD GOVERNING IS CREATING	1997 (15) 2001-2005 (8) 2010 (67) 2015 (30)
		<i>encourage</i>	GOOD GOVERNING IS CREATING	1997 (23) 2001-2005 (12) 2010 (28) 2015 (15)
		<i>shape</i>	GOOD GOVERNING IS CREATING	1997 (1)
FORCES	DOMESTIC ISSUES	<i>attract</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ARE FORCES	1997 (1)
		<i>detach</i>	IDEOLOGICAL SIMILARITY IS PHYSICAL PROXIMITY	2010 (2)
		<i>drag down</i>	ROUTINE IS A FORCE	2010 (1)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
		<i>leading force</i>	DESIRED POLITICAL OBJECTIVES ARE FORCES	2010 (1)
		<i>lever</i>	CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS A FORCE	2010 (2)
		<i>lift</i>	GOOD IS HIGH	1997 (2)
		<i>pressure</i>	DIFFICULTIES ARE FORCES	1997 (4) 2001-2005 (6) 2010 (14) 2015 (8)
		<i>push forward</i>	DIRECT CAUSATION IS APPLICATION OF A FORCE	2015 (1)
		<i>soules</i>	LABOUR POLICY IS A DEATH FORCE	1997 (1)
		<i>split up</i>	DIVORCE IS DIVISION	2010 (1)
		<i>strain</i>	DIFFICULTIES ARE FORCES	1997 (1) 2001-2005 (2) 2010 (5)
		<i>tap into</i>	ABSTRACT IS PHYSICAL	2010 (1)
		<i>tilt the balance</i>	JUSTICE IS A BALANCE	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>turbulence</i>	SITUATION IN LIFE IS CLIMATE CONDITION	2010 (1)
		<i>turbulent</i>	SITUATION IN LIFE IS CLIMATE CONDITION	1997 (1)
		<i>unabated</i>	STATE CONTROL IS INTENSITY	2010 (1)
		<i>volatility</i>	MONEY IS A GAS	2015 (1)
	ECONOMIC ISSUES	<i>attract</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ARE FORCES	1997 (4)
		<i>drag</i>	NEGATIVELY EVALUATED ECONOMIC PHENOMENA ARE ATTRACTING FORCES	2015 (1)
		<i>pump</i>	MONEY IS LIQUID	1997 (1)
		<i>shaken</i>	NEGATIVE EVENTS ARE FORCES	2010 (1)
		<i>tip</i>	CAUSED INABILITY TO ACT IS PREVENTION OF MOTION ALONG A PATH	2010 (1)
	LEADERSHIP	<i>lever</i>	CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS A FORCE	2010 (3)
		<i>push</i>	DIRECT CAUSATION IS APPLICATION OF A FORCE	1997 (9) 2001-2005 (1) 2010 (11) 2015 (14)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
GAMES & SPORT	BNI	<i>competition</i>	ECONOMY IS COMPETITION	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>competitive</i>	POLITICS IS COMPETITION	1997 (1) 2001-2005 (1) 2010 (2)
		<i>disadvantage</i>	ECONOMY IS COMPETITION	1997 (1)
		<i>fight our corner</i>	POLITICS IS COMPETITION	2010 (1)
		<i>kick off</i>	POLITICS IS COMPETITION	2015 (1)
		<i>lead</i>	POLITICS IS COMPETITION	2010 (4) 2015 (1)
		<i>leading</i>	PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	2010 (3)
		<i>player</i>	POLITICS IS COMPETITION	2015 (1)
		<i>punch above our weight</i>	MILITARY CAPABILITY IS BODY ABILITY	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>rivalry</i>	POLITICS IS COMPETITION	1997 (1)
		<i>unrivalled</i>	POLITICS IS COMPETITION	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>win</i>	ECONOMY IS COMPETITION	2015 (1)
	DOMESTIC ISSUES	<i>advantage</i>	POLITICS IS COMPETITION	2010 (1)
		<i>at stake</i>	POLITICS IS A GAME	1997 (1)
		<i>baseline</i>	AMOUNT OF MONEY IS PHYSICAL LIMIT	2015 (1)
		<i>compete</i>	ECONOMY IS COMPETITION	1997 (1) 2001-2005 (1) 2010 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>competition</i>	ECONOMY IS COMPETITION	1997 (10) 2001-2005 (7) 2010 (3) 2015 (4)
		<i>competitive</i>	POLITICS IS COMPETITION	1997 (5)
		<i>disadvantage</i>	ECONOMY IS COMPETITION LIFE IS COMPETITION	1997 (1) 2001-2005 (1) 2010 (7) 2015 (1)
		<i>head start</i>	POLITICS IS COMPETITION	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>impose</i>	EUROPEAN DECISIONS ARE IMPOSITIONS	2015 (1)
		<i>indefensible</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>juggle</i>	LIFE IS A STRUGGLE FOR	1997 (1)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
			SURVIVAL	
		<i>lead</i>	POLITICS IS COMPETITION	2010 (11)
		<i>leading</i>	PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	2010 (5)
		<i>rivalry</i>	POLITICS IS COMPETITION	1997 (1)
		<i>tackle</i>	POLITICS IS A GAME	1997 (14)
		<i>voice</i>	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE BEING IMPORTANT IS HAVING A VOICE	2001-2005 (2) 2010 (2)
		<i>win</i>	ECONOMY IS COMPETITION POLITICS IS COMPETITION	1997 (1) 2010 (2)
		<i>world-beating</i>	EDUCATION IS A COMPETITION	2015 (1)
	ECONOMIC ISSUES	<i>advantage</i>	ECONOMY IS COMPETITION	1997 (1) 2001-2005 (2)
		<i>compete</i>	ECONOMY IS COMPETITION	1997 (3) 2010 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>competition</i>	ECONOMY IS COMPETITION	1997 (3) 2001-2005 (3) 2010 (3) 2015 (2)
		<i>competitive</i>	POLITICS IS COMPETITION	1997 (3) 2001-2005 (1) 2010 (1) 2015 (3)
		<i>competitiveness</i>	ECONOMY IS COMPETITION	1997 (2) 2001-2005 (2) 2010 (4)
		<i>competitors</i>	ECONOMY IS COMPETITION	1997 (2) 2010 (2) 2015 (2)
		<i>disadvantage</i>	ECONOMY IS COMPETITION	2015 (1)
		<i>lead</i>	POLITICS IS COMPETITION	1997 (5) 2001-2005 (2) 2010 (1) 2015 (2)
		<i>leading</i>	ECONOMY IS COMPETITION	1997 (1) 2010 (4)
		<i>on its feet</i>	ECONOMY IS COMPETITION	2010 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>uncompetitive</i>	ECONOMY IS COMPETITION	1997 (2)
		<i>unrivalled</i>	ECONOMY IS COMPETITION	1997 (2)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
		<i>win</i>	ECONOMY IS COMPETITION	1997 (5) 2015 (1)
		<i>world-beating</i>	ECONOMY IS COMPETITION	2001-2005 (1)
	LEADERSHIP	<i>competition</i>	ECONOMY IS COMPETITION	1997 (1)
		<i>competitive</i>	POLITICS IS COMPETITION	1997 (1)
		<i>lead</i>	POLITICS IS COMPETITION	2001-2005 (4) 2010 (4) 2015 (7)
		<i>team</i>	POLITICS IS COMPETITION	2015 (2)
		<i>win</i>	POLITICS IS COMPETITION	2010 (2)
		<i>leading</i>	PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	2010 (2)
		<i>stake</i>	POLITICS IS A GAME	2015 (1)
HEALTH & ILLNESS	BNI	<i>growth</i>	INSTITUTIONS ARE ORGANISMS ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM	2001-2005 (2) 2010 (1)
		<i>harmful</i>	THE STATE IS A PERSON	1997 (1)
		<i>reinvigorate</i>	CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS A MEDICINE	2015 (1)
		<i>strong</i>	INSTITUTIONS ARE ORGANISMS	2001-2005 (2)
		<i>weak</i>	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	2015 (1)
		<i>weaken</i>	INSTITUTIONS ARE ORGANISMS	2001-2005 (2)
	DOMESTIC ISSUES	<i>alleviate</i>	DEBT IS SICKNESS	1997 (1)
		<i>antidote</i>	CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS A MEDICINE	2010 (1)
		<i>disinfectant</i>	POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARE INFECTIONS	2010 (1)
		<i>eradicate</i>	SOCIAL PROBLEMS ARE DISEASES	2015 (2)
		<i>fertile</i>	PRODUCING IS GIVING LIFE	2010 (1)
		<i>grow</i>	COMPANIES ARE ORGANISMS	2015 (11)
		<i>growth</i>	INSTITUTIONS ARE ORGANISMS ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM	2001-2005 (3) 2010 (1)
		<i>health</i>	SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE ORGANISMS	1997 (1)
		<i>healthy</i>	SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE ORGANISMS	1997 (1) 2001-2005 (1) 2015 (2)
		<i>hurt</i>	TAXATION IS A DISEASE	2015 (1)
		<i>instilling</i>	CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS A MEDICINE	2010 (1)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
		<i>life</i>	SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE ORGANISMS	2010 (1)
		<i>plague</i>	LABOUR POLICY IS A DISEASE	2010 (2)
		<i>regenerate</i>	CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS GIVING NEW LIFE	1997 (6) 2001-2005 (5)
		<i>reinvigorate</i>	CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS A MEDICINE	2010 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>revitalise</i>	CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS A MEDICINE	2001-2005 (4) 2010 (4)
		<i>strong</i>	INSTITUTIONS ARE ORGANISMS	1997 (5) 2001-2005 (13) 2015 (36)
		<i>suffer</i>	LABOUR POLICY IS A DISEASE SOCIAL PROBLEMS ARE DISEASES	1997 (2) 2001-2005 (4) 2010 (3) 2015 (1)
		<i>swell</i>	QUANTITY IS SIZE SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE ORGANISMS	2010 (2) 2015 (1)
		<i>symptom</i>	SOCIAL PROBLEMS ARE DISEASES LABOUR POLICY IS A DISEASE	2010 (2) 2015 (1)
		<i>weak</i>	INSTITUTIONS ARE ORGANISMS	1997 (1) 2010 (9) 2015 (2)
		<i>weaken</i>	INSTITUTIONS ARE ORGANISMS	2001-2005 (3)
	ECONOMIC ISSUES	<i>birth</i>	ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM	2015 (1)
		<i>grow</i>	ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM QUANTITY IS SIZE	1997 (16) 2001-2005 (2) 2010 (6) 2015 (33)
		<i>growth</i>	ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM INSTITUTIONS ARE ORGANISMS	1997 (2) 2001-2005 (3) 2010 (22) 2015 (20)
		<i>harm</i>	ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM THE STATE IS A PERSON	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>healthy</i>	SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE ORGANISMS	2015 (1)
		<i>hurt</i>	TAXATION IS A DISEASE	2015 (1)
		<i>immunity</i>	COMPANIES ARE BODIES	1997 (1)
		<i>inject</i>	CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS A MEDICINE	2010 (2) 2015 (2)
		<i>kill</i>	LABOUR POLICY IS DEATH	2010 (5)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
		<i>life</i>	SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE ORGANISMS	2001-2005 (2) 2015 (1)
		<i>relief</i>	TAXATION IS A DISEASE	2001-2005 (4) 2010 (2) 2015 (6)
		<i>revive</i>	CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS A MEDICINE	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>sick man</i>	THE STATE IS A PERSON	1997 (1)
		<i>stifle</i>	ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM	1997 (3) 2010 (3)
		<i>stimulate</i>	ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (6)
		<i>stimulate/stimulation</i>	ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM	1997 (3)
		<i>strong</i>	INSTITUTIONS ARE ORGANISMS	1997 (2) 2001-2005 (3)
		<i>vigour</i>	DECISION IS STRENGTH	2001-2005 (1)
HEAT & COLD	DOMESTIC ISSUES	<i>freeze</i>	MONEY WHICH CANNOT BE ACCESSED IS FROZEN	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (13) 2015 (7)
		<i>warm</i>	KIND IS WARM	2010 (1)
		<i>warmth</i>	LOVE IS WARMTH	2010 (1)
	ECONOMIC ISSUES	<i>freeze</i>	MONEY WHICH CANNOT BE ACCESSED IS FROZEN	2010 (2)
HUMAN BODY	BNI	<i>at the heart of</i>	IMPORTANCE IS CENTRALITY	2001-2005 (2)
		<i>backbone</i>	THE STATE IS A PERSON	2010 (2)
		<i>flexibility</i>	THE STATE IS A PERSON	2001-2005 (2)
		<i>flexible</i>	THE STATE IS A PERSON	2001-2005 (8) 2015 (1)
		<i>muscle</i>	INSTITUTIONS ARE BODY PARTS	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>shoulder to shoulder</i>	POLITICAL SUPPORT IS PHYSICAL PROXIMITY	2015 (2)
		<i>voice</i>	VOICE IS POWER	2015 (2)
	DOMESTIC ISSUES	<i>arteries (clog the)</i>	INSTITUTIONS ARE PEOPLE	2015 (1)
		<i>at the heart of</i>	IMPORTANCE IS CENTRALITY	1997 (1) 2001-2005 (2) 2010 (2) 2015 (3)
		<i>backbone</i>	THE STATE IS A PERSON	2015 (1)
		<i>congested</i>	TRAFFIC IS BODY CIRCULATION	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>congestion</i>	ROADS ARE HUMAN BODY	1997 (1) 2010 (1)
		<i>dead hand</i>	THE STATE IS A PERSON	1997 (1)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
		<i>embrace</i>	IDEOLOGICAL SIMILARITY IS PHYSICAL PROXIMITY	2010 (3)
		<i>flexibility</i>	THE STATE IS A PERSON	2001-2005 (2) 2010 (4) 2015 (2)
		<i>flexible</i>	THE STATE IS A PERSON	1997 (3) 2010 (49)
		<i>get a grip on</i>	KNOWING IS PHYSICAL CONTROL	2010 (1)
		<i>gimmicks</i>	THE STATE IS A PERSON	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>grip</i>	KNOWING IS PHYSICAL CONTROL	2015 (1)
		<i>hard core</i>	IMPORTANCE IS CENTRALITY	1997 (1) 2001-2005 (2)
		<i>inflexible</i>	BEING ABLE TO CHANGE IS FLEXIBILITY	2001-2005 (3)
		<i>internal</i>	THE STATE IS A PERSON	2010 (4)
		<i>kick (out)</i>	EXPELLING IS KICKING	2010 (4)
		<i>slim down</i>	QUANTITY IS WEIGHT	2001-2005 (2)
		<i>stamp</i>	POLITICAL ACTION IS PHYSICAL MOVEMENT	1997 (1)
		<i>touch</i>	COMMUNICATION IS PHYSICAL CONTACT	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (2)
		<i>turn / make blind eye</i>	KNOWING IS SEEING	2001-2005 (2)
	ECONOMIC ISSUES	<i>flexibility</i>	THE STATE IS A PERSON	1997 (2)
		<i>flexible</i>	ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM	2010 (2)
		<i>get a grip on</i>	KNOWING IS PHYSICAL CONTROL	2010 (2)
	LEADERSHIP	<i>at the heart of</i>	IMPORTANCE IS CENTRALITY	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (3) 2015 (1)
		<i>backbone</i>	THE STATE IS A PERSON	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>embrace</i>	IDEOLOGICAL SIMILARITY IS PHYSICAL PROXIMITY	1997 (2)
LIGHT & DARKNESS	BNI	<i>beacon</i>	LIGHT IS GOOD	2001-2005 (1)
	DOMESTIC ISSUES	<i>beacon</i>	LIGHT IS GOOD	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (1)
		<i>blurs</i>	UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING	2010 (1)
		<i>bright</i>	INTELLIGENCE IS LIGHT	2010 (3)
		<i>brilliant</i>	GOOD SITUATION IS LIGHT	2015 (2)
		<i>clean</i>	POLLUTION IS DIRT CORRUPTION IS DIRT	2001-2005 (3) 2010 (1) 2015 (6)



SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
		<i>in the light of</i>	UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (5)
		<i>openness</i>	UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING	1997 (1)
		<i>paint a more starkly different picture</i>	CURRENT SITUATION IS A PICTURE	2010 (1)
		<i>picture</i>	UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING	2010 (1)
		<i>veil</i>	PUBLIC EVALUABILITY IS TRANSPARENCY	1997 (1)
	ECONOMIC ISSUES	<i>shone a bright light</i>	UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING	2015 (1)
	LEADERSHIP	<i>clean</i>	EASY IS CLEAN	1997 (1)
MACHINES & TOOLS	BNI	<i>deployment</i>	TROOPS ARE TOOLS TROOPS ARE SKILLS	1997 (2) 2010 (6)
		<i>dismantling</i>	POLITICAL POLICIES ARE MACHINES	2010 (1)
		<i>trigger</i>	LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITY IS ACTIVATING A MACHINE	2015 (1)
		<i>work</i>	SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE MACHINES	2001-2005 (2)
	DOMESTIC ISSUES	<i>axed</i>	REDUCING MONEY IS CUTTING	2010 (1)
		<i>boost</i>	POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (6) 2015 (8)
		<i>breakdown</i>	SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE MACHINES	1997 (1) 2010 (8) 2015 (1)
		<i>broad-brush</i>	DOING SOMETHING WITHOUT CARE IS USING A BROAD-BRUSH	1997 (1)
		<i>catalyse</i>	GOVERNMENT IS A CATALYST	2010 (2)
		<i>catapult</i>	GOOD GOVERNING IS CREATING	2015 (1)
		<i>clog up</i>	THE STATE IS A MACHINE	2015 (2)
		<i>creak</i>	NHS IS A MACHINE COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE MACHINES	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (1)
		<i>cushion</i>	CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS A SAFETY TOOL	2015 (1)
		<i>cut</i>	MONEY IS A PLANT / REDUCING PUBLIC SPENDING IS CUTTING	1997 (8) 2001-2005 (43) 2010 (60) 2015 (39)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
		<i>drink-fuelled</i>	SOCIAL PROBLEMS ARE FUELS	2010 (3)
		<i>driven</i>	COMPLEX SOCIAL PROCESSES ARE MACHINES	2010 (4) 2015 (1)
		<i>drug-fuelled</i>	SOCIAL PROBLEMS ARE FUELS	2010 (1)
		<i>edge</i>	QUALITIES ARE COMMODITIES	1997 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>engage</i>	SOCIETY IS A MACHINE	2015 (1)
		<i>fix</i>	ECONOMY IS A MACHINE POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE	2010 (4) 2015 (1)
		<i>galvanise</i>	INFLUENCING IS GALVANYSING	2010 (1)
		<i>ratchet clause</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE MACHINES	2010 (4)
		<i>stall</i>	COMPLEX SOCIAL PROCESSES ARE MACHINES	2010 (1)
		<i>streamline</i>	SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE MACHINES	2001-2005 (1) 2015 (2)
		<i>tool</i>	EDUCATION IS A TOOL INSTITUTIONS ARE TOOLS	2001-2005 (1) 2015 (2)
		<i>trigger</i>	POLITICS IS A MACHINE LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITY IS ACTIVATING A MACHINE	2010 (6) 2015 (1)
		<i>work</i>	SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS ARE MACHINES	1997 (3) 2010 (11)
	ECONOMIC ISSUES	<i>boost</i>	ECONOMY IS A MACHINE	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (6) 2015 (11)
		<i>cut</i>	MONEY IS A PLANT/ REDUCING PUBLIC SPENDING IS CUTTING	1997 (3) 2001-2005 (6) 2010 (4) 2015 (5)
		<i>debt-fueled</i>	ECONOMY IS A MACHINE	2010 (1)
		<i>driven</i>	ECONOMY IS A MACHINE	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (3) 2015 (1)
		<i>engine</i>	ECONOMY IS A MACHINE	2015 (1)
		<i>fix</i>	ECONOMY IS A MACHINE	2010 (2) 2015 (2)
		<i>ratchet</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE MACHINES	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>safety net</i>	ECONOMIC PRODUCTS ARE TOOLS	2001-2005 (1)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
		<i>stall (over)</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE OBJECTS	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>stick to</i>	IDEOLOGICAL UNITY IS PHYSICAL CONTACT	2015 (3)
		<i>stick to/together</i>	IDEOLOGICAL UNITY IS PHYSICAL CONTACT	2010 (1)
		<i>stick to/with</i>	IDEOLOGICAL UNITY IS PHYSICAL CONTACT	1997 (3)
		<i>work</i>	THE STATE IS A BUILDING / THE STATE IS A MACHINE	2015 (10)
	LEADERSHIP	<i>stick to/together</i>	IDEOLOGICAL UNITY IS PHYSICAL CONTACT	2010 (1)
		<i>tool</i>	INSTITUTIONS ARE TOOLS	2010 (3)
MONEY & ECONOMIC TRANSACTIONS	BNI	<i>hand over</i>	POWER IS A COMMODITY	1997 (1) 2010 (3) 2015 (1)
		<i>value for money</i>	PUBLIC SERVICES ARE PRODUCTS	2015 (1)
		<i>waste</i>	MONEY IS A COMMODITY	2001-2005 (1)
	DOMESTIC ISSUES	<i>benefit</i>	STATES ARE CONTAINERS	1997 (2) 2010 (2)
		<i>enrich</i>	KNOWLEDGE IS A VALUABLE GOOD MULTICULTURALITY IS A VALUABLE GOOD	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (2)
		<i>hand over</i>	POWER IS A COMMODITY	2015 (1)
		<i>hoarding</i>	POLITICAL POWER IS VALUABLE GOOD	2010 (2)
		<i>manage</i>	THE STATE IS A BUSINESS	1997 (1) 2001-2005 (2) 2015 (1)
		<i>package</i>	POLITICAL POLICIES ARE GOODS	1997 (1) 2001-2005 (3) 2010 (5) 2015 (3)
		<i>sponsor</i>	PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS ARE COMPANIES	2015 (5)
		<i>stake</i>	ECONOMY IS A COMPANY PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS BUSINESS	1997 (1)
		<i>value for money</i>	PUBLIC SERVICES ARE PRODUCTS	1997 (3) 2001-2005 (5) 2010 (12) 2015 (5)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
		<i>waste</i>	MONEY IS A COMMODITY	2001-2005 (2) 2010 (3) 2015 (1)
	ECONOMIC ISSUES	<i>bequeathing</i>	POLITICAL RIVAL'S POLICIES ARE IMMORAL TRANSMISSIONS OF PROPERTY	2010 (1)
		<i>partnership</i>	INSTITUTIONS ARE PEOPLE	1997 (11)
		<i>purse</i>	PUBLIC SERVICES ARE PRODUCTS	1997 (1)
		<i>stagnation</i>	BAD ECONOMIC SITUATION IS LACK OF MOVEMENT	1997 (1)
		<i>surplus</i>	THE STATE IS A BUSINESS	1997 (1) 2015 (7)
		<i>value for money</i>	PUBLIC SERVICES ARE PRODUCTS	2010 (2) 2015 (1)
		<i>waste</i>	MONEY IS A COMMODITY	2010 (3)
	LEADERSHIP	<i>deliver/delivery</i>	POLITICS IS BUSINESS	1997 (14) 2001-2005 (21) 2010 (75) 2015 (49)
		<i>hallmark</i>	FEATURES ARE PHYSICAL MARKS	1997 (1)
		<i>manage</i>	THE STATE IS A BUSINESS	2010 (8)
		<i>provide</i>	POLITICS IS BUSINESS	1997 (2) 2001-2005 (2) 2010 (4)
		<i>roll out</i>	POLITICAL POLICIES ARE PRODUCTS	2010 (4) 2015 (8)
		<i>stake</i>	PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS BUSINESS POLITICS IS A GAME	2010 (4)
		<i>waste</i>	MONEY IS A COMMODITY	2015 (1)
MOVEMENT & DIRECTION	BNI	<i>advance</i>	PROGRESS TOWARD A GOAL IS MOVEMENT ALONG A PATH TOWARD A DESTINATION	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (2)
		<i>ahead</i>	LIFE IS A JOURNEY	1997 (2) 2010 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>bear</i>	ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IS MOTION	2010 (1)
		<i>block</i>	CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS UNIMPEDED MOVEMENTS	2015 (1)
		<i>bridge the gap</i>	NOT COOPERATION IS PHYSICAL DISTANCE	2010 (1)
		<i>connect</i>	INTERDEPENDENCE IS PHYSICAL CONNECTION	2015 (1)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
		<i>course</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>direction</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>follow</i>	PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	1997 (2)
		<i>footsteps</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	1997 (1)
		<i>fork in the road</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>haven</i>	OPERATION IS NAVIGATION	2010 (1) 2015 (3)
		<i>hold back</i>	POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOVEMENT	2015 (1)
		<i>horizon</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	2001-2005 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>inside</i>	NATO IS A CONTAINER EURO IS A CONTAINER	2001-2005 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>lock</i>	PREVENTING CHANGE IS IMPEDING PHYSICAL MOVEMENT	2010 (1)
		<i>mislead</i>	NOT RELEASING INFORMATION IS GOING THE WRONG WAY	2010 (1)
		<i>path</i>	PROSPERITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	2015 (1)
		<i>periphery</i>	IRRELEVANT IS PERIPHERICAL	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>release</i>	MONEY IS LIQUID	2010 (1)
		<i>reverse</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	2015 (1)
		<i>road</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>route</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A	2001-2005 (2)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
			DESTINATION	
		<i>slide</i>	POLITICAL CHANGE IS PHYSICAL MOVEMENT	2010 (1)
		<i>stop</i>	CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS IMPEDED MOVEMENTS	2010 (1) 2015 (5)
		<i>way</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	1997 (1)
	DOMESTIC ISSUES	<i>accelerate</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (4) 2015 (3)
		<i>advance</i>	PROGRESS TOWARD A GOAL IS MOVEMENT ALONG A PATH TOWARD A DESTINATION	1997 (1) 2010 (1)
		<i>agitate for</i>	CHANGE IS PHYSICAL MOVEMENT	2010 (1)
		<i>ahead</i>	LIFE IS A JOURNEY	1997 (1) 2001-2005 (1) 2010 (1)
		<i>barge</i>	DECISION POWER IS TRESSPASSING PROPERTY	2010 (1)
		<i>block</i>	CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS UNIMPEDED MOVEMENTS	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (2) 2015 (1)
		<i>burden</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	1997 (7) 2001-2005 (7) 2010 (14) 2015 (4)
		<i>clear the way</i>	POLITICAL PROMOTION IS REMOVING OBSTACLES	2010 (2)
		<i>clutches</i>	BEING ECONOMICALLY SOUND IS BEING ABLE TO MOVE	2010 (1)
		<i>crash</i>	BANKRUPCY IS UNABILITY TO MOVE	2015 (1)
		<i>cumbersome</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	1997 (1)
		<i>direction</i>	LIFE IS A JOURNEY POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	1997 (1) 2001-2005 (2) 2010 (1)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
		<i>distant</i>	RELEVANCE IS DISTANCE	1997 (1) 2010 (4) 2015 (4)
		<i>divert</i>	SPENDING MONEY IS MOVEMENT WASTING MONEY IS MOVEMENT	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (1)
		<i>downwards</i>	LOCAL IS DOWN	2010 (1)
		<i>encroachment</i>	THE STATE IS AN ENEMY	2010 (3)
		<i>far-reaching</i>	POLITICAL ACTION IS PHYSICAL MOVEMENT	1997 (1) 2010 (2) 2015 (2)
		<i>far-sighted</i>	POLITICAL ACTION IS PHYSICAL MOVEMENT	1997 (1)
		<i>follow</i>	PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	1997 (1) 2001-2005 (4) 2010 (6) 2015 (1)
		<i>frontier</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	2010 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>hand in hand</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	2010 (4)
		<i>harness</i>	POLITICAL CONTROL IS CONTROL OVER MOTION	1997 (2) 2015 (2)
		<i>haven</i>	OPERATION IS NAVIGATION	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>hold back</i>	LIFE IS A JOURNEY	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (3) 2015 (1)
		<i>intrusion</i>	INTIMACY IS A CONTAINER	1997 (1)
		<i>lag</i>	SUCCESS IS ABILITY TO MOVE	2015 (1)
		<i>lever</i>	CHANGE IS PHYSICAL MOVEMENT	1997 (1)
		<i>locked out</i>	CIVIL RIGHTS ARE PHYSICAL MOVEMENTS	2010 (1)
		<i>marching</i>	LIFE IS A JOURNEY	2010 (1)
		<i>midway</i>	TIME IS A JOURNEY	2010 (1)
		<i>milestone</i>	IRISH CONFLICT IS A JOURNEY	2010 (1)
		<i>mired</i>	HAVING FINANCIAL PROBLEMS IS IMPEDED MOVEMENT	2010 (1)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
		<i>muddled</i>	POLITICAL ACTION IS PHYSICAL MOVEMENT	2010 (1)
		<i>on course</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	2015 (1)
		<i>open</i>	UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING	2010 (1)
		<i>orientation</i>	OPINION IS DIRECTION	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>overturn</i>	ABSTRACT IS MATERIAL	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (1)
		<i>path</i>	PROSPERITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	2015 (1)
		<i>peak</i>	MORE IS UP	1997 (2)
		<i>pilot</i>	POLITICAL ACTION IS PHYSICAL MOVEMENT	1997 (1)
		<i>reach</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	1997 (2) 2015 (1)
		<i>release</i>	MONEY IS LIQUID	2015 (2)
		<i>reverse</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	1997 (1) 2001-2005 (5) 2010 (3) 2015 (1)
		<i>ring-fence</i>	ENSURING IS PHYSICALLY ENCLOSING	2010 (2) 2015 (3)
		<i>road</i>	LIFE IS A JOURNEY	2010 (1)
		<i>route</i>	LIFE IS A JOURNEY EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY	2010 (1) 2015 (6)
		<i>slip away</i>	POLITICAL OBJECTIVES ARE SELF-PROPELLED ENTITIES	1997 (1)
		<i>slip back</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	2001-2005 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>slip down</i>	LOSING ABILITY IS GOING DOWN	2010 (1)
		<i>static</i>	CHANGE IS PHYSICAL MOVEMENT	2010 (1)
		<i>step</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	1997 (12) 2001-2005 (5) 2010 (19) 2015 (8)
		<i>stick</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A	2010 (4)



SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
			DESTINATION	
		<i>stop</i>	CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS IMPEDED MOVEMENTS	1997 (7) 2001-2005 (6) 2010 (35) 2015 (8)
		<i>strings</i>	DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOVEMENT	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>stuck</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	2015 (1)
		<i>stumbled</i>	LABOUR POLICY IS ERRATIC MOVEMENT	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>tangle</i>	DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOVEMENT	2010 (1)
		<i>track</i>	LIFE IS A JOURNEY	2001-2005 (3) 2010 (2) 2015 (1)
		<i>triple lock</i>	PREVENTING CHANGE IS IMPEDING PHYSICAL MOVEMENT	2015 (5)
		<i>turnaround</i>	CHANGE OF SITUATION IS CHANGE OF PATH	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>turning-point</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>unleash</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS MOTION CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS UNIMPEDED MOVEMENTS	1997 (1)
		<i>unlock</i>	MAKING AVAILABLE IS ENABLING PHYSICAL MOVEMENT	2010 (3) 2015 (3)
		<i>unravel</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	1997 (1)
		<i>u-turn</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	2010 (2)
		<i>walk of life</i>	LIFE IS A JOURNEY	2010 (1) 2015 (2)
		<i>way</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	1997 (5)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
	ECONOMIC ISSUES	<i>advance</i>	PROGRESS TOWARD A GOAL IS MOVEMENT ALONG A PATH TOWARD A DESTINATION	2001-2005 (1) 2015 (3)
		<i>ahead</i>	ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>anchor</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	1997 (1)
		<i>bear</i>	ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IS MOTION	1997 (1)
		<i>burden</i>	ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	1997 (8) 2001-2005 (2) 2010 (3)
		<i>converged</i>	SIMILARITY IS PHYSICAL PROXIMITY	2015 (1)
		<i>course</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	1997 (4)
		<i>direction</i>	LIFE IS A JOURNEY	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>dump</i>	LESS IS DOWN	1997 (1)
		<i>hub</i>	IMPORTANCE IS CENTRALITY	2010 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>lag</i>	ECONOMIC SUCCES IS UNIMPEDED MOVEMENT	2010 (1)
		<i>lead</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION / POLITICS IS COMPETITION	1997 (3)
		<i>lock in</i>	ECONOMIC PHENOMENA ARE SELF-PROPELLED AGENTS SPENDING IS IMPEDING PHYSICAL MOVEMENT	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (1)
		<i>open</i>	QUANTITY IS ORIENTATION	1997 (10)
		<i>pilot</i>	POLITICAL ACTION IS PHYSICAL MOVEMENT	2010 (3) 2015 (1)
		<i>stop</i>	CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS IMPEDED MOVEMENTS	2010 (14)
		<i>striding</i>	ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	2015 (1)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
		<i>stuck in the red / back in the black</i>	ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	2015 (1)
		<i>turn around</i>	ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION LIFE IS A JOURNEY	1997 (1) 2015 (3)
		<i>unleash</i>	CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS UNIMPEDED MOVEMENTS	1997 (1)
		<i>way</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	1997 (2)
	LEADERSHIP	<i>ahead</i>	LIFE IS A JOURNEY	1997 (3)
		<i>crash</i>	POLITICAL FAILURE IS UNABILITY TO MOVE	2010 (1)
		<i>direction</i>	LIFE IS A JOURNEY POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	1997 (2) 2010 (3)
		<i>embarked</i>	LIFE IS A JOURNEY	2010 (1)
		<i>fall back</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	1997 (1)
		<i>forward</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	1997 (12)
		<i>journey</i>	LONG TERM PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS A JOURNEY	2010 (3)
		<i>long</i>	TIME IS SIZE	1997 (1)
		<i>on course</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	1997 (3)
		<i>path</i>	PROSPERITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	2010 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>pathway</i>	CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS ADVANCING TOWARDS PROSPERITY	1997 (1)
		<i>pioneer</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	1997 (1)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
		<i>reach</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	1997 (4) 2001-2005 (3) 2010 (1) 2015 (2)
		<i>reverse</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (5) 2015 (2)
		<i>road</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	1997 (1)
		<i>unravel</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	1997 (1)
		<i>widen</i>	POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS GOING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	1997 (4)
OTHER	BNI	<i>aggressive</i>	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	2015 (1)
		<i>bossy</i>	INSTITUTIONS ARE PEOPLE	2015 (1)
		<i>cavalier approach</i>	POLITICS IS HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS	2010 (1)
		<i>close</i>	FRIENDSHIP IS LACK OF PHYSICAL DISTANCE	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (2) 2015 (3)
		<i>damage</i>	LABOUR POLICY IS A DISASTER	2015 (2)
		<i>deep</i>	QUALITY IS DEPTH	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (2)
		<i>flow</i>	MONEY IS LIQUID	2015 (2)
		<i>friend</i>	THE STATE IS A PERSON	2001-2005 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>leading role</i>	INTERNATIONAL POLITICS IS A STAGE	2010 (1)
		<i>outward-looking</i>	THE STATE IS A CONTAINER	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>rogue</i>	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>role</i>	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	1997 (1)
		<i>shrink</i>	QUANTITY IS SIZE	2010 (1)
		<i>size</i>	QUANTITY IS SIZE	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>stem the flow</i>	POWER IS A FLUID	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>wave</i>	UNAVOIDABLE NEGATIVE ACTION IS A NATURAL DISASTER	2001-2005 (1)
	DOMESTIC	<i>abolish</i>	INSTITUTIONS ARE LAWS	2001-2005 (1)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
	ISSUES	<i>amplified</i>	IMPORTANCE IS VOLUME	2010 (1)
		<i>belt</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE PIECES OF CLOTHING	1997 (2) 2001-2005 (4) 2010 (3) 2015 (13)
		<i>big</i>	IMPORTANCE IS SIZE QUANTITY IS SIZE	2010 (100)
		<i>broad</i>	AMOUNT IS SIZE	1997 (4) 2001-2005 (1) 2010 (3) 2015 (1)
		<i>broaden</i>	AMOUNT IS SIZE	2010 (2) 2015 (1)
		<i>clean up</i>	CORRUPTION IS DIRT	2010 (7)
		<i>close the gap</i>	REDUCING INEQUALITY IS REDUCING PHYSICAL DISTANCE	2010 (3)
		<i>connect</i>	ABSTRACT IS MATERIAL	1997 (1)
		<i>cosmetic</i>	SMALL CHANGE IS MAKE-UP	2010 (1)
		<i>deep</i>	QUALITY IS DEPTH	2010 (5)
		<i>dirty</i>	POLLUTION IS DIRT	2010 (1)
		<i>distort</i>	UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING	2010 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>drop</i>	LESS IS DOWN	1997 (4)
		<i>dumb</i>	OBJECTS ARE PEOPLE	2010 (1)
		<i>encapsulate</i>	IDEAS ARE OBJECTS	2010 (1)
		<i>erode</i>	RIGHTS / QUALITIES ARE PIECES OF LAND	2001-2005 (2) 2010 (3)
		<i>fabric</i>	THE STATE IS A PIECE OF CLOTHING COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE PIECES OF CLOTHING	1997 (1) 2010 (2) 2015 (1)
		<i>flow</i>	MONEY IS LIQUID TRAFIC IS A LIQUID	2001-2005 (3) 2010 (1)
		<i>frayed</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE PIECES OF CLOTHING	2010 (1)
		<i>fuels</i>	SOCIAL PROBLEMS ARE FIRES	2010 (2)
		<i>gap</i>	DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOVEMENT	2010 (9)
		<i>golden thread</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE PIECES OF CLOTHING	2015 (1)
		<i>hole (black)</i>	MONEY IS A COMMODITY	2015 (1)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
		<i>housing ladder</i>	SOCIALLY IMPROVING IS GOING UP	2010 (2) 2015 (3)
		<i>hugely</i>	QUALITY IS SIZE	2010 (1)
		<i>judging</i>	PUBLIC ARE JUDGES	2010 (1)
		<i>kick into the long grass</i>	NOT CARRYING OUT AN ACTION IS HIDING	2010 (1)
		<i>leading role</i>	POLITICS IS A STAGE	2010 (6)
		<i>legacy</i>	POLITICAL RIVAL'S POLICIES ARE IMMORAL TRANSMISSIONS OF PROPERTY POLICIES ARE TRANSMISSIONS OF PROPERTY	1997 (1) 2015 (4)
		<i>mend</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE PIECES OF CLOTHING	2010 (7)
		<i>mending</i>	SOCIETY IS A PIECE OF CLOTHING	2010 (2)
		<i>pull apart</i>	THE STATE IS A PIECE OF CLOTHING	1997 (1)
		<i>shrink</i>	QUANTITY IS SIZE	1997 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>size</i>	QUANTITY IS SIZE	2001-2005 (2) 2010 (5) 2015 (4)
		<i>smart</i>	OBJECTS ARE PEOPLE	2010 (7) 2015 (3)
		<i>soar</i>	MORE IS UP	2010 (2) 2015 (1)
		<i>soft touch</i>	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	2001-2005 (3)
		<i>stamp out</i>	TROUBLE IS A FIRE	1997 (1) 2001-2005 (1)
		<i>stream</i>	MONEY IS LIQUID	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (2)
		<i>stretch</i>	MONEY IS A SUBSTANCE	1997 (1) 2010 (2) 2015 (1)
		<i>strip</i>	ATTRIBUTES ARE POSSESSIONS	2015 (1)
		<i>strip away</i>	ATTRIBUTES ARE POSSESSIONS	2010 (1)
		<i>sunlight</i>	UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING	2010 (1)
		<i>tank</i>	INSTITUTIONS ARE CONTAINERS	2015 (1)
		<i>tapestry</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE PIECES OF CLOTHING	1997 (1)
		<i>thread</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE PIECES OF CLOTHING / TEXTS ARE PIECES	2010 (1)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
			OF CLOTHING	
		<i>tie</i>	SOCIETY IS A PIECE OF CLOTHING	2015 (1)
		<i>tight</i>	RESTRICTING RULES IS PHYSICAL CONSTRAINT	1997 (5) 2001-2005 (1) 2010 (5) 2015 (2)
		<i>torn</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE PIECES OF CLOTHING	2010 (1)
		<i>tough</i>	STRICTNESS / DIFFICULTY IS HARDNESS	1997 (15) 2001-2005 (6) 2010 (10) 2015 (19)
		<i>transparency</i>	KNOWING IS SEEING	2001-2005 (5) 2010 (19) 2015 (12)
		<i>unblock (the bottlenecks)</i>	PATIENTS ARE FLUID	2001-2005 (2)
		<i>vibrancy</i>	DYNAMISM IS SOUND	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>wave</i>	UNAVOIDABLE NEGATIVE ACTION IS A NATURAL DISASTER	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>weave</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE PIECES OF CLOTHING	1997 (2)
		<i>whistle-blower</i>	PRESS IS POLICE	2015 (1)
	ECONOMIC ISSUES	<i>big</i>	IMPORTANCE IS SIZE	1997 (1)
		<i>capture</i>	MONEY IS A GAS	1997 (1)
		<i>climate</i>	ECONOMIC SITUATION IS WEATHER CONDITIONS	2010 (1)
		<i>cloud</i>	ECONOMIC SITUATION IS WEATHER CONDITIONS	2015 (1)
		<i>deep</i>	QUALITY IS DEPTH	2010 (1)
		<i>distort</i>	UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING	2010 (1)
		<i>drop</i>	REMOVING IS LETTING FALL	2010 (1)
		<i>flow</i>	MONEY IS LIQUID	1997 (2)
		<i>gap</i>	DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOVEMENT	2015 (4)
		<i>heavy</i>	IMPORTANCE IS WEIGHT	1997 (4) 2001-2005 (1)
		<i>heavy-handed</i>	THE STATE IS A PERSON	1997 (1)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
		<i>legacy</i>	POLITICAL RIVAL'S POLICIES ARE IMMORAL TRANSMISSIONS OF PROPERTY	2010 (4)
		<i>lesson</i>	ECONOMIC CRISIS IS A LESSON	2015 (1)
		<i>plug</i>	MONEY IS LIQUID	2015 (1)
		<i>reel</i>	THE STATE IS A PERSON	2015 (1)
		<i>sun is shining</i>	ECONOMIC SITUATION IS WEATHER CONDITIONS	2015 (1)
		<i>thread</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE PIECES OF CLOTHING	1997 (1)
		<i>wave</i>	UNAVOIDABLE ACTION IS A NATURAL DISASTER IMPENDING ACTION IS A WEATHER PHENOMENON	2010 (3)
	LEADERSHIP	<i>advocate</i>	THE STATE IS A PERSON	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>bind</i>	THE STATE IS A PIECE OF CLOTHING COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE PIECES OF CLOTHING	1997 (2) 2010 (2)
		<i>deep</i>	QUALITY IS DEPTH	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>deeply</i>	QUALITY IS DEPTH	2015 (2)
		<i>load</i>	MONEY IS A HEAVY OBJECT	1997 (1)
		<i>master</i>	THE STATE IS A PERSON	2015 (1)
		<i>outward-looking</i>	THE STATE IS A CONTAINER	2015 (1)
		<i>servant</i>	THE STATE IS A PERSON	2015 (2)
		<i>thread</i>	COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE PIECES OF CLOTHING TEXTS ARE PIECES OF CLOTHING	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (1)
		<i>transparency</i>	KNOWING IS SEEING	2010 (5)
PLANTS	BNI	<i>at root</i>	SOCIAL PROBLEMS ARE WEEDS	2015 (1)
		<i>core</i>	IMPORTANCE IS CENTRALITY IDEAS ARE PLANTS	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>develop</i>	INSTITUTIONS ARE PLANTS	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (5) 2015 (7)
	DOMESTIC ISSUES	<i>blight</i>	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	2001-2005 (4) 2010 (4) 2015 (1)
		<i>branch</i>	ORGANISATIONS ARE PLANTS	2001-2005 (1) 2015 (1)



SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
		<i>develop</i>	IDEAS ARE PLANTS INSTITUTIONS ARE PLANTS	1997 (10) 2001-2005 (1) 2010 (13) 2015 (7)
		<i>flourish</i>	HUMAN LIFE IS A PLANT CYCLE INSTITUTIONS ARE WEEDS	2010 (2)
		<i>reap</i>	ECONOMY IS A PLANT	1997 (1)
		<i>root</i>	IDEAS ARE PLANTS SOCIAL PROBLEMS ARE WEEDS	2001-2005 (3) 2010 (2)
		<i>vigorous</i>	MEASURES ARE PLANTS	2010 (2)
		<i>vigorously</i>	MEASURES ARE PLANTS	1997 (1)
	ECONOMIC ISSUES	<i>develop</i>	IDEAS ARE PLANTS ECONOMY IS A PLANT	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (14) 2015 (2)
		<i>flourish</i>	ECONOMY IS A PLANT	1997 (3)
		<i>grow</i>	COMPANIES ARE ORGANISMS QUANTITY IS SIZE SOCIAL PROBLEMS ARE WEEDS	2010 (6)
		<i>reap the benefits</i>	ECONOMY IS A PLANT	2010 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>seedcorn</i>	ECONOMY IS A PLANT	1997 (1)
		<i>thrive</i>	ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM	1997 (4) 2001-2005 (4) 2015 (1)
	LEADERSHIP	<i>core</i>	IMPORTANCE IS CENTRALITY IDEAS ARE PLANTS	2010 (6) 2015 (1)
		<i>develop</i>	IDEAS ARE PLANTS ECONOMY IS A PLANT	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>root</i>	IDEAS ARE PLANTS	2001-2005 (4)
RELIGION & ETHICS	BNI	<i>believe</i>	IDEAS ARE RELIGIOUS PRECEPTS	1997 (4)
		<i>betrayal</i>	THE STATE IS A PERSON	2010 (1)
		<i>condemn</i>	POLITICAL OPPOSITION IS CONDEMNATION	2015 (1)
		<i>faithful</i>	LAW IS MORALITY	2015 (1)
		<i>sacrifice</i>	FULFILLING DUTY IS MAKING A SACRIFICE	2010 (12)
		<i>values</i>	POLITICS IS RELIGION	2001-2005 (1)
	DOMESTIC ISSUES	<i>believe</i>	IDEAS ARE RELIGIOUS PRECEPTS	1997 (8)
		<i>believe in</i>	IDEAS ARE RELIGIOUS PRECEPTS	2001-2005 (3) 2010 (6) 2015 (5)
		<i>betrayed</i>	THE STATE IS A PERSON	2010 (1)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
		<i>blame and shame</i>	EXPOSING PUBLICLY IS BLAMING & SHAMING	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>blessed</i>	POSSESSION IS BLESSING	1997 (1)
		<i>cruel</i>	LABOUR POLICY IS EVIL	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>desecrate</i>	NEIGHBOURHOOD ARE HOLY PLACES	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>diaspora</i>	LIFE IS RELIGION	2015 (1)
		<i>faith</i>	POLITICS IS RELIGION	2001-2005 (2) 2010 (4)
		<i>hell</i>	BEHAVIOUR IS ORIGIN	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>malign</i>	LABOUR POLICY IS EVIL	2010 (1)
		<i>mess</i>	DIFICULTY IS DIRT CORRUPTION IS DIRT	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (1)
		<i>mourn</i>	LIFE IS RELIGION	2015 (1)
		<i>ordeal</i>	LABOUR POLICY IS A PUNISHMENT	2010 (1)
		<i>penalise</i>	TAXES ARE SENTENCES	1997 (1) 2001-2005 (3)
		<i>pervert</i>	LABOUR POLICY IS EVIL	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>relic</i>	LIFE IS RELIGION	2015 (1)
		<i>reward</i>	POLITICS IS RELIGION WORTHWILE ACTIVITY IS DOING GOOD	2001-2005 (6) 2010 (16) 2015 (11)
		<i>rite of passage</i>	POLITICS IS RELIGION	2015 (1)
		<i>stigma</i>	BEING NEGATIVELY PERCEIVED IS HAVING PHYSICAL WOUNDS	2010 (2)
		<i>values</i>	POLITICS IS RELIGION	1997 (1) 2001-2005 (7) 2015 (4)
		<i>vision</i>	POLITICS IS RELIGION	2015 (2)
	ECONOMIC ISSUES	<i>belief</i>	ECONOMIC IDEAS ARE RELIGIOUS PRECEPTS	1997 (1)
		<i>believe</i>	IDEAS ARE RELIGIOUS PRECEPTS	1997 (4)
		<i>virtues</i>	ABILITIES ARE VIRTUES	1997 (1)
	LEADERSHIP	<i>belief</i>	IDEAS ARE RELIGIOUS PRECEPTS POLITICS IS RELIGION	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (6) 2015 (3)
		<i>believe</i>	IDEAS ARE RELIGIOUS PRECEPTS	1997 (5) 2001-2005 (20) 2010 (35) 2015 (6)
		<i>creed</i>	IDEOLOGY IS RELIGION	2010 (1)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
		<i>dream</i>	IDEOLOGY IS RELIGION	1997 (4) 2001-2005 (1) 2010 (1)
		<i>mission</i>	POLITICS IS RELIGION	2010 (9) 2015 (1)
		<i>mocked</i>	HAVING DIFFERENT IDEOLOGY IS MOCKING	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>sacrifice</i>	BEING OUT OF BENEFITS OR WORK IS MAKING A SACRIFICE	1997 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>sight</i>	POLITICS IS RELIGION POLITICAL IDEAS ARE RELIGIONS	1997 (2) 2015 (2)
		<i>values</i>	POLITICS IS RELIGION	1997 (1) 2001-2005 (4) 2010 (22) 2015 (9)
		<i>vision</i>	POLITICS IS RELIGION	1997 (12) 2001-2005 (4) 2010 (29) 2015 (2)
WAR & CONFLICT	BNI	<i>combat</i>	SOCIAL PROBLEMS ARE ENEMIES	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>confront</i>	DEALING WITH SOCIAL PROBLEMS IS WAR	2015 (3)
		<i>damage</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	1997 (2) 2001-2005 (2)
		<i>defend</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	1997 (1) 2001-2005 (6) 2010 (2)
		<i>escalate</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	2010 (2)
		<i>face</i>	FOREIGN POLICY IS CONFLICT	1997 (4) 2010 (7) 2015 (3)
		<i>fight</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	2001-2005 (2) 2010 (8) 2015 (1)
		<i>hard-won</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	2015 (3)
		<i>oppose</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	1997 (5) 2001-2005 (1)
		<i>protect</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	1997 (6) 2001-2005 (1) 2010 (12) 2015 (4)
		<i>resist</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	1997 (5) 2010 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>safeguard</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	2015 (3)
		<i>strategy</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	2010 (8) 2015 (5)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
		<i>succumb</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	1997 (1)
		<i>threat</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	2001-2005 (4) 2010 (16) 2015 (10)
		<i>vanguard</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	2001-2005 (1)
	DOMESTIC ISSUES	<i>aggressive</i>	SOCIAL PROBLEMS ARE ENEMIES	2015 (5)
		<i>army</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	2010 (1)
		<i>attack</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	1997 (2) 2001-2005 (3) 2010 (1)
		<i>battle</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	2010 (6)
		<i>combat</i>	SOCIAL PROBLEMS ARE ENEMIES	2001-2005 (2) 2010 (11) 2015 (1)
		<i>confront</i>	DEALING WITH SOCIAL PROBLEMS IS WAR	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (1)
		<i>damage</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	1997 (4) 2001-2005 (5) 2010 (6)
		<i>defeat</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	2010 (1)
		<i>defend</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	2010 (1) 2015 (2)
		<i>destroy</i>	ECONOMY IS CONFLICT VANDALISM IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE POLITICS IS CONFLICT	1997 (2) 2001-2005 (2) 2010 (2)
		<i>endanger</i>	BEING DETRIMENTAL IS ENDANGERING	2010 (1)
		<i>entrench</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	2010 (1) 2015 (2)
		<i>face</i>	SOCIAL PROBLEMS ARE ENEMIES	1997 (6) 2001-2005 (4) 2010 (31) 2015 (2)
		<i>fight</i>	SOCIAL PROBLEMS ARE ENEMIES	1997 (7) 2001-2005 (1) 2010 (20) 2015 (7)
		<i>flagship</i>	POLITICAL POLICY IS ARMY	2010 (1)
		<i>frontline</i>	SOCIAL POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS WAR PUBLIC SERVICES ARE NATIONAL SECURITY	1997 (1) 2010 (6) 2015 (4)
		<i>guardian</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	1997 (1)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
		<i>hit</i>	LIFE IS A STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL	1997 (1) 2001-2005 (5) 2010 (4)
		<i>infiltration</i>	PREVENTION OF EXTREMISMS IS WAR ON EXTREMISM	2015 (1)
		<i>inflict</i>	LABOUR GOVERNMENT IS ENEMY	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>intrusion</i>	THE STATE IS AN OPPONENT	2010 (2)
		<i>liberate</i>	ECONOMY IS CONFLICT	1997 (3) 2001-2005 (3) 2015 (1)
		<i>mobilise</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	2010 (1)
		<i>neutral</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	2010 (1)
		<i>oppose</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	1997 (2) 2001-2005 (1) 2010 (4) 2015 (3)
		<i>protect</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	1997 (12) 2001-2005 (8) 2010 (19) 2015 (8)
		<i>raid</i>	INCREASING TAXATION IS AGGRESSION	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>resist</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	2010 (1)
		<i>revolution</i>	CHANGE IS CONFLICT	1997 (2) 2010 (5) 2015 (2)
		<i>safeguard</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	2015 (3)
		<i>slash</i>	ABSTRACT IS MATERIAL	2015 (2)
		<i>stealth</i>	LABOUR GOVERNMENT IS ENEMY	2001-2005 (5) 2010 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>strategy</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	1997 (4) 2010 (7) 2015 (4)
		<i>struggle</i>	LIFE IS A STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL	1997 (1) 2001-2005 (4) 2010 (4) 2015 (2)
		<i>subject</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	2010 (1)
		<i>threat</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	2001-2005 (4) 2010 (12)
		<i>trapped</i>	PUBLIC BENEFITS IS A TRAP	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>vanguard</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	1997 (1) 2010 (3)
		<i>weapon</i>	LIFE IS A STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL	2015 (1)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
	ECONOMIC ISSUES	<i>damage</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>destroy</i>	ECONOMY IS CONFLICT	1997 (2)
		<i>discipline</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	2001-2005 (2) 2010 (1) 2015 (1)
		<i>face</i>	ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT IS CONFLICT	1997 (2)
		<i>fight</i>	ECONOMY IS CONFLICT	1997 (3)
		<i>free</i>	REGULATIONS ARE PRISON	1997 (15)
		<i>inflict</i>	LABOUR GOVERNMENT IS ENEMY	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>peace</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	1997 (1)
		<i>protect</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	1997 (3) 2010 (13) 2015 (5)
		<i>revolution</i>	CHANGE IS CONFLICT	1997 (3)
		<i>safeguard</i>	ECONOMY IS CONFLICT / POLITICS IS CONFLICT	1997 (1) 2001-2005 (1)
		<i>secure</i>	ECONOMY IS CONFLICT	2001-2005 (1) 2010 (12)
		<i>stealth</i>	LABOUR GOVERNMENT IS ENEMY	2010 (1)
		<i>strategy</i>	ECONOMY IS CONFLICT	2001-2005 (4) 2010 (1) 2015 (3)
		<i>threat</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	1997 (5) 2001-2005 (2) 2010 (11)
		<i>trapped</i>	PUBLIC SPENDING IS A TRAP	1997 (1)
		<i>vanguard</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	1997 (1)
		<i>win</i>	ECONOMY IS COMPETITION	2001-2005 (1)
	LEADERSHIP	<i>battle</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	1997 (1)
		<i>confront</i>	DEALING WITH SOCIAL PROBLEMS IS WAR	2010 (1)
		<i>defeat</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	2010 (1)
		<i>defend</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	2015 (4)
		<i>disaster</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	1997 (1)
		<i>fight</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	1997 (2)
		<i>lead from the front</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	2010 (6)
		<i>liberate</i>	ECONOMY IS CONFLICT	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>oppose</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	2001-2005 (1)
		<i>protect</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	1997 (1) 2010 (35)

SOURCE	TARGET	LINGUISTIC REALISATION	METAPHOR	HITS
		<i>revolution</i>	CHANGE IS CONFLICT CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS CHANGE	1997 (2) 2001-2005 (1) 2015 (2)
		<i>safeguard</i>	ECONOMY IS CONFLICT POLITICS IS CONFLICT	2010 (9)
		<i>secure</i>	ECONOMY IS CONFLICT LIFE IS A STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL	1997 (9) 2015 (13)
		<i>threat</i>	POLITICS IS CONFLICT	2001-2005 (3)
		<i>win</i>	ECONOMY IS COMPETITION	1997 (1)